

Proceedings of the  
CANADIAN CLUB, Toronto  
for the Year 1911-1912

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VOLUME IX.

1911-12



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# ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BEFORE

## The Canadian Club *of* Toronto

SEASON OF 1911-1912

*Edited by the Literary Correspondent*



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TORONTO :  
WARWICK BRO'S & RUTTER, LIMITED  
1912



WARWICK BRO'S & RUTTER. Limited.  
Printers, Toronto.

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1911/12

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# Officers and Executive Canadian Club, 1911-1912

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RHYS D. FAIRBAIRN

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K. J. DUNSTAN



# Past Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Canadian Club of Toronto

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1897—1898

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	John A. Cooper.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	W. Sanford Evans.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	Neil McCrimmon.

1898—1899

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	W. Sandford Evans.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	J. T. Clark.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	Angus MacMurchy.

1899—1900

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	George Wilkie.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	E. S. Caswell.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	J. E. Hansford.

1900—1901

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	W. E. Rundle.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	Frank Yeigh.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	S. Morley Wickett.

1901—1902

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	S. Casey Wood.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	Dr. S. M. Wickett.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	W. H. D. Miller.

1902—1903

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	Dr. Bruce Macdonald.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	Dr. F. J. Smale.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	Chas. E. Edmonds.

## THE CANADIAN CLUB.

## 1903—1904

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	W. R. P. Parker.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	E. R. Peacock.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	G. A. Howell.

## 1904—1905

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	G. A. Howell.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	Mark H. Irish.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	C. W. I. Woodland.

## 1905—1906

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	E. R. Peacock.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	John Turnbull.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	R. Home Smith.

## 1906—1907

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	Mark H. Irish.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	Dr. A. J. MacKenzie.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	Geo. A. Morrow.

## 1907—1908

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	John Turnbull.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	Geo. H. D. Lee.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	T. H. Mason.

## 1908—1909

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	R. Home Smith.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	J. F. MacKay.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	K. J. Dunstan.

## 1909—1910

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	Geo. H. D. Lee.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	E. N. Armour.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	F. H. Deacon.

## 1910—1911

<i>President,</i>	-	-	-	J. F. MacKay.
<i>1st Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	R. J. Dilworth.
<i>2nd Vice-President,</i>	-	-	-	John R. Bone.

## Annual Report of the Literary Correspondent.

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The outstanding feature of the past year's luncheon programme was the National Series of addresses on the several provinces of the Dominion. This symposium worked out very happily. For one thing it secured for the meetings a certain continuity and running interest, carrying the members along from one week to another. Prominent men from the different units of confederation dealt with the political areas with which they are specially familiar, and as a result the members in regular attendance are better posted than ever before on the history, resources, achievements and prospects of their country in its different sections and as a whole. Collected and compiled in the present volume the series presents in permanent form much interesting data that should prove valuable for reference purposes and even for the use of future historians.

To take these provincial addresses in geographical rather than in chronological order, British Columbia was represented by Hon. Martin Burrell. In his own rapid, facile style the Minister of Agriculture for the Dominion presented a glowing picture, lightened at times by humorous touches, of the romantic early history, the striking physical characteristics and the immense varied resources of the Pacific Coast Province. In conclusion he emphasized the need and difficulty of keeping British Columbia a white man's country without offending the powerful Asiatic peoples concerned. Mr. H. H. Stevens, M.P. for Vancouver City, dealt with the danger of allowing segregated "little Asias" of un-democratic and un-assimilable Orientals to grow up in the West. Dr. Sunder Singh, the leader of the Hindoo colony on the coast, pleaded that the brave Sikhs should be conceded equal rights with other British subjects in Canada and all over the Empire. The two last named addresses did not belong strictly to the National Series, but as they bore upon a subject to which Mr. Burrell gave some attention and which is of vast importance to Western Canada, they are included at this stage of my report.



In a torrent of language so rapid that even Hansard men could not report him verbatim Mr. R. B. Bennett, the eloquent member of Parliament from Calgary, spoke for Alberta, or rather on "The Relation of the Western Provinces to Confederation." The address of Mr. C. A. Magrath of Medicine Hat on "Some Imperial Problems" is also included in the National Series for convenience sake. He argued impressively that Canada's chief danger lies in her great industrial resources. He emphasized the absolute need of safeguarding Canadian citizenship by a stricter supervision of immigration, and he urged that we get all the settlers possible from the British Isles, as they bring British ideals and will help to keep this half of North America truly British in traditions and sentiment. Lastly, he pleaded for the strengthening of the Imperial fabric by closer co-operation between all parts of the Empire for purposes of trade and defence. Mr. J. A. M. Aikins, M.P. (Brandon), was another tonic from the West. Speaking for Manitoba he insisted on the vital importance of schooling the young in the glories of the Empire, and of stimulating Canadian and British sentiment by ties of national and Imperial trade. In his view, as in that of many others, if we utilize our natural advantages aright we may make the Dominion the leading nation in the Empire and thus the greatest in history.

For Ontario, Mr. E. F. B. Johnston, K.C., made a thoughtful contribution to the symposium. He pointed out that this Province led the way for all confederation in the development of the country's industrial resources, in education, in the battle for civil and religious liberty and responsible Government, and in the successful fight for Provincial rights. The political struggles of earlier Ontario have finally given to the world an example of Government which combines the best features of both the monarchy and the republic. Dreamers like Jacques Cartier, Lord Durham, and Governor Simcoe dreamed dreams, most of which we have already realized, and we ourselves should dream and work for the position of leadership in the Greater British Empire now in the making. This was in part Mr. Johnston's inspiring message.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Postmaster-General in the Laurier Government, consented to deliver an address on Quebec but, a provincial general election intervening, he was unable to come. Representing New Brunswick, Mr. O. S. Crocket, M.P., gave probably the best prepared and most thoroughly comprehensive address of the series. After touching upon the exodus to the West as the chief factor in

delaying the progress of the Province in the past, he declared that the long period of stagnation is over and that New Brunswick is about to reap the full benefits of confederation and the National Policy. Its wealth in forests and fisheries has been long known, but its agricultural and mineral resources are just commencing to be appreciated. Valuable deposits of coal, iron, gas and oil in wells and shales are being opened up, and the prospect is that these will form the basis of very important industries, furnishing a source of income to an increasing population. Government-aided emigration to prepared farms bids fair to yield excellent results, while the huge expenditures on the St. John River Railway and the St. John harbor point to a new era of activity in local and through transportation. Hon. A. K. Maclean, M.P., brought us a similarly encouraging story from Halifax. Nova Scotia, he said, is proud of the sacrifices in population which it endured in order to help in peopling the Western prairies and British Columbia with stout Canadians before the influx of aliens began, for this means that the sentiment of the new provinces are fixedly national and British. The little province down by the sea was retarded in its development by the decay of the old wooden shipbuilding industry and by the fact that the eastern portion of confederation was long a purely trading rather than an industrial community. All is now changed. Nova Scotia is securing important manufactures, new transportation facilities are being obtained, agriculture is reviving and even the fishing industry shows new potentialities. Evidently the Province is on the verge of profiting greatly as the front door of a developed Canada. From Dr. Andrew MacPhail we had a characteristically pungent deliverance on the past, present and future of Prince Edward Island. He prescribed the development of domestic handicrafts as a means of enhancing its prosperity.

As Labrador (with Newfoundland) belongs geographically and should some day belong politically to the Dominion, Dr. Grenfell's speech on that portion of British North America may be regarded as falling within the National Series. He prophesied that Labrador will soon have railway communication with Canada, that it will yield much mineral wealth, and that the reindeer herds which he has established there will be duplicated in the wild lands of Canada and prove no inconsiderable factor in lessening the cost of the country's food supply. Mr. Justice Riddell treated the Club to a learned and instructive deliverance on the Constitutional History of

Canada. Unavailing efforts were made to have either the Right Hon. R. L. Borden or Sir Wilfrid Laurier wind up the season and put a coping stone on the National Series with an address on the Dominion as a whole. Possibly during the coming year Mr. Lemieux may be prevailed upon to give his postponed address on Quebec, and we may also hear from either the Prime Minister or the Leader of the Opposition, if not from both.

First among the year's speakers on Imperial topics came the Right Hon. James Bryce, British Ambassador at Washington, who dwelt in his own impressive manner on the past, present and future of our race, and on the danger of mingling peoples far separated in color and ideals. He observed that the menace which threatens the Canadian branch of Anglo-Saxondom is that of being overwhelmed by the fascinating task of developing the vast natural resources at its command. In his opinion those divisions of the British race which have carried free government to the over-sea Dominions are not likely to diverge so far as to militate against the unity of the Empire. The burden of Professor Kylie's message was that Canadians must assume their proper share of Imperial responsibilities or lose their manhood. Mr. Hamar Greenwood, a Canadian member of the Imperial House of Commons, also made bold to tell us plainly that we are not doing our duty in the way of Imperial defence. Sir Andrew Fraser, formerly Governor of Bengal, revealed the sources of British strength in India and emphasized the paramount importance of the British occupation to the vast population of Hindustan. Mr. H. B. Ames, M.P., of Montreal, who attended the coronation of King George and Queen Mary, gave a graphic word picture of the Imperial ceremonies and festivities which marked that historic event at the heart of the Empire.

A portion of the year's programme was devoted to sociological and relative subjects. Speaking on the British coal strike, Mr. Harry Phillips, President of the Coal Workers of London, declared that the time has arrived when the rich will have to be satisfied with smaller dividends and allow the workers a larger share of the proceeds of their own labor. Dr. John L. Elliott, of the Hudson Guild, New York, talked of the social settlement work in that city, pointing out that the best way to help the poor is to teach them to help themselves. In his experience the redemption of the "city desert" lies in the intelligent use of the powers of recuperation latent in the under-world. Dr. Peabody of Harvard University delivered a striking address on the opposing forces



of commercialism and idealism at work on this continent, and expressed the opinion that the latter will triumph. In an eloquent effort Rev. Father Vaughan discussed Science, Philosophy and Religion as the handmaidens of knowledge and servants of man, and urged that each should be kept in its proper place. Bishop Brent of the Philippine Islands showed us that the United States is trying to do for the islanders what Great Britain has done and is doing for India and Egypt. Christianity, he said, must hold the supreme place in the work of civilization or civilization will crumble to dust. The strain of the modern world is too great for men to bear unless they have high ideals and that moral support which comes only from religious belief. Prof. Moulton of Chicago University described World Literature as "Universal Literature seen in perspective" and as "the autobiography of civilization." Mr. Elbert Hubbard gave a semi-serious, semi-humorous talk on human brotherhood and on the uselessness of the man who fails to co-operate with his fellows. Another American, Mr. George Rettig, of Cleveland, tendered good advice on how to beautify our city. Not the least interesting address of the year was Prof. Currelly's essay on the curious origins of the world's different currencies and monetary systems.

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As the annual report presented by the Honorary Secretary shows, the Canadian Club of Toronto goes forward to another season with a paid-up membership of 1,286. The attendance at the 27 special and general meetings held during the year 1911-1912 fluctuated widely, running as high as 600 for Father Vaughan's address and about 300 for the whole series. It is worthy of mention that new Canadian Clubs are still being established in different parts of the country and that the whole movement appears to be in a healthy condition. Past successes, however, furnish no excuse for any lessening of effort, as further progress can be obtained only by the earnest co-operation of officers and members. A specially bound copy of this Year Book will be presented to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, Governor-General of Canada.

F. D. L. SMITH,

Literary Correspondent.

May 15, 1912.

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

### Canadian Club of Toronto

(*Founded 1897*).

1. The Club shall be called the Canadian Club of Toronto.
2. It is the purpose of the Club to foster patriotism by encouraging the study of the institutions, history, arts, literature, and resources of Canada, and by endeavouring to unite Canadians in such work for the welfare and progress of the Dominion as may be desirable and expedient.
3. (a) There shall be two classes of members—active and honorary.  
(b) Any man at least eighteen years of age, who is a British subject by birth or naturalization, and who is in sympathy with the objects of the Club, shall be eligible for membership.  
(c) Honorary membership may be conferred on such persons as in the opinion of the Club may be entitled to such distinction.
4. Application for membership must be made in writing through two members of the Club in good standing, and the names must be announced at a regular meeting of the Club and voted upon at the next Executive meeting. Two black balls shall exclude.  
5. (a) Honorary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall neither vote nor hold office.  
(b) Active members shall pay, in advance, an annual fee of two dollars.  
(c) No one shall be a member in good standing until he shall have paid his annual fee, such fee being due and payable on or before November 30th of each year.  
(d) Only members in good standing shall be eligible for office or have the right to vote at any meeting of the Club.  
(e) Fees of members elected after November 30th shall forthwith become due and payable.  
(f) All members whose fees are in arrears shall be so

notified by the Treasurer; and if the same are not paid within ten days thereafter their names shall be struck from the roll.

6 (a) The officers of the Club shall consist of a President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, Literary Correspondent, and several others holding no specific office. These officers, together with the last retiring President, shall constitute the Executive Committee.

(b) The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Club, which shall be held on the last Monday in April, and shall hold office until the next annual meeting, or until their successors are elected.

(c) Nominations shall be made by a nominating committee appointed at a meeting to be held at least one week previous to the annual meeting. Their report shall be received at the annual meeting, and either adopted in its entirety or after amendment, on motion and ballot.

(d) In case of demission of office, whether by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thereby caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee. The person so elected shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

7. (a) Subject to special action by the Club, the conduct of its affairs shall be vested in the Executive Committee.

(b) The Executive Committee shall meet at the call of the President, and five members shall constitute a quorum.

(c) Where the President is unable or refuses to call a meeting, three members of the Executive may do so by giving the others at least 24 hours' notice in writing.

(d) The Executive Committee shall have power to appoint an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be paid such remuneration as shall be fixed by them.

8. The duties of the officers shall be as follows:

(a) The President, when present, shall preside at all meetings, and shall, upon request, inform the Club of the proceedings of the Executive Committee since the last report, receive and read motions, and cause the sense of the meeting to be taken on them, preserve order and direct the proceedings of the meeting in regular course. There shall be no appeal from the ruling of the Chair unless requested by at least five members and carried by two-thirds vote.

(b) In the absence of the President the senior Vice-President present shall preside and perform the duties of the President and have his privileges.

(c) In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, a chairman for the meeting shall be chosen by the open vote of those present.

(d) The Literary Correspondent shall have charge of all correspondence of a literary character, and shall edit any literary matter issued by the Club, and in a general way promote and guard the interests of the Club in the daily and periodical press.

(e) The Honorary Treasurer shall collect and receive all moneys due the Club, issue receipts therefor, and pay all authorized accounts.

(f) The Secretary shall take minutes at all meetings of the Club, as well as those of the Executive Committee. He shall issue notices of meetings and perform those duties usually appertaining to the office.

(g) The Assistant Secretary-Treasurer shall perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee.

9. (a) Meetings held on Mondays, between 1 and 2 p.m., shall be deemed regular meetings, and shall be called at the discretion of the Executive Committee, except during the months of May, June, July, August, September, and October. Special meetings may be held at any time or place at the call of the President or three members of the Executive Committee.

(b) No notice of ordinary meetings shall be necessary, but notice in writing of all annual and special meetings shall be sent to each member of the Club.

(c) Fifty members in good standing present at any meeting of the Club shall constitute a quorum.

10. Two auditors shall be elected by open vote at the meeting provided for in clause 6, and shall embody their report in the Treasurer's annual statement.

11. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, by a two-thirds vote of the members present, after one week's notice of such amendment.

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# THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO

*ADDRESSES 1911-12*

*(May 8th, 1911.)*

## The Past and the Future of Our Race.

BY THE RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE.\*

**A**T a special meeting of the Canadian Club held on May 8th, 1911, the Right Hon. James Bryce said:—

First let me thank you for the cordial welcome you have given me. It is not now the first time—I think this is the third occasion on which I have had the honor of meeting the Canadian Club of Toronto. And let me thank you, Mr. President, for the kind words with reference to what I have sought to do in Canadian interests as Ambassador to the United States. I may tell you, gentlemen, that three-fourths, perhaps four-fifths, of what I have done at Washington was work done for Canada. And that does not mean that Canada and the United States are particularly contentious neighbors; it means that you have a frontier of more than three thousand miles, along which a great number of questions necessarily arise of interest to Canadians as a whole; a great many communications have to pass between the two nations, and in those communications I am honored to be the intermediary. I count it a very great privilege to be honored in that way to serve Canada, and to be the embassy of Canada just as much as of the United Kingdom. I am proud of the unity of the Empire. We are all one: the interests of Canada are just as dear to me at Washington, and should be, as the interests of London. I assure

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\* The Right Honorable James Bryce is the British Ambassador to the United States. He is a publicist of the first rank, and the author of "The American Commonwealth" and other political works.

you that is the wish of the English people, and not only of His Majesty's Government that now is, but of any Government, with no difference of party; it is the desire we all entertain, to place the interests of the British Empire and all the self-governing dominions on a level with our own, and to make our army and navy, our diplomatic and consular service as much at their service as at the service of the United Kingdom.

The great object I have tried to attain, acting in co-operation with His Majesty's Government and your Government at Ottawa, has been to endeavor to remove as far as possible all possible circumstances which might have the effect of causing friction. There have been as a legacy from the past a certain number of questions left over which are capable of becoming matters of trouble, which might possibly become acute. Our object has been by anticipating these troubles and providing means for their solution, if in any way hereafter they might tend to become acute, to prevent serious trouble arising between these two nations. It is far better to preclude causes of quarrel than to cure them when they exist, for peacemakers are all blessed, but twice blessed is he who prevents a quarrel from emerging.

I am happy to think, and this has been my chief satisfaction in discharging my duties at Washington, that my task has been rendered easy by the good feeling that has subsisted between the two Governments, and among the two peoples. At no time has there been such a growth of friendly feeling as during the past few years.

A striking instance occurred two years ago at the anniversary of the discovery of Lake Champlain, when four regiments gathered in the northern part of the States of New York and Vermont; and when these regiments, one being composed of Highlanders, appeared on the shores of Lake Champlain, at Plattsburgh, formerly a scene of conflict, and saluted President Taft, no applause given to any regiment was so hearty and universal as that given to this Canadian regiment. That was a sign, simple but significant, of the feeling which I believe is to be found all along the border. It has made possible the conclusion of all those treaties which have been signed between the two countries, and is the best augury for the maintenance of those treaties and most friendly relations for all time between these two great, friendly nations.

I cannot stand before you without remembering that occasion four years ago, when in company with my venerated friend and instructor, and your venerated fellow-citizen, Mr. Goldwin Smith, I entered this very hall. I remember the

tempest of applause as he walked up the aisle. I remember being doubly struck, because I supposed that there was hardly a man in the room that agreed with his political opinions,—I didn't myself, although I was his pupil fifty years ago at Oxford,—but I was struck with the fact that in spite of the strength with which you hold political opinions here, and that he stood almost alone, that did not affect the respect and admiration which you entertained for his great qualities as a thinker, a writer, and a citizen. He was a powerful thinker, a clear and striking writer, and a good citizen. He was a great worker for the community in which he lived. He was interested in philanthropic projects, and always endeavored to approach questions, political or social, on a high plane. He applied a very high Imperial standard to everything: his maxims may have appeared almost Utopian; he was one of those men who illustrate high Imperial principles in their own lives, and bring up the standard of public affairs. His memory will live and deserves to live, not only in this city, of which he was a literary ornament, but also in our land, as one of the most brilliant and striking figures of our time.

I have been asked, Mr. President and gentlemen, to say a few words upon "The Past and Future of Our Race." Let me introduce them by saying a few words about the whole race of mankind in general in this generation of ours.

This is the first generation that has seen every part of the world brought into touch with every other part. The European civilized races control almost every part of the globe, for except China and Japan there is no part of the world but is now under the control of some European race. This extension of the sway of the European races has been accompanied by a far greater opportunity for fusion of the races, their blending together, than ever before. That is conspicuously the case in the British Empire, because we rule over a number of different races, different in speech, different in blood, different in color, from ourselves.

There is a broad conclusion I have been led to form regarding the contact of different races of mankind. Where races, although different, are comparatively near one another, of the same color and with qualities and habits not markedly incompatible, the fusion of these races is generally a good thing, and generally produces a cross-race or mixed race which is at least as good as either of the original races, and generally combines a number of the good qualities of both. The most familiar instance of this kind is the mixture of the Celtic and the Teutonic races in the British Islands. If there are any



Scotchmen here, which I think is not improbable,—I see one (Dr. J. A. Macdonald), and I believe there are a good many more,—they will bear me out, that owing to the blending of races in Scotland and the north of Ireland, you strike a man of unusual activity, persistence, and fertile capacity. I think the same thing might be said of the blending of Teutonic and Slavonic peoples in Germany, producing a very capable, energetic, forceful race. I think you will find that, generally speaking, wherever two races mix by blood and marriage which are somewhat alike one another, the result is good.

Now the contrary appears to be true where the races are far apart. Of course we are only at the beginning of the scientific study of this subject. But the blending of the white race with the black, or the white with the Indian, or the negro with the Indian race, has not been shown to produce good results. Take the negro race, or the Indian (whether the North American Indian or the East Indian). It might be thought that you must have an infusion of white stock to improve the race; but whether you do improve it so, is not known; indeed the facts so far as known might be taken to prove the other way. I am not attempting to dogmatize, but certainly we may say it is not proved, and it is safest for us in the meantime not to encourage the mixture of races which are not near one another, as it would seem that those races that differ in color could not mingle their blood for the production of a good strong mixed race. It would appear in many cases, that the pure race (East Indian, or native American), is quite as good as, if not better than the mixed race obtained by commingling with Europeans. The Aztecs and Zapotecs are quite as good as the mixed race produced by the native Mexicans and Spaniards mingling. I think the same is true of the negroes and the whites.

Lastly, there is no reason to despair of any race. The study of history and the conditions in which nations have advanced, entitle us to believe that we must not set bounds to the possibilities of improvement of any backward race. Under conditions that were unfavorable the native American race has shown potentiality of great advancement. And the condition of the negroes now compared with their state when they came out of slavery also shows great advance: they came out of bondage without a penny to their names, and now they own property worth more than four hundred million dollars,—an evidence of industry and intelligence with which no one credited them in slavery. So don't let us be despondent even about backward races, but let us believe that Providence may



have reserved conditions of prosperity for them when they come into more favorable conditions. Therefore don't let me part from you in a pessimistic mood. Nevertheless, their difference from the white is still so great that it is better that the two bloods should remain distinct. We can't say that native races, such as the aboriginal races of this continent, are not capable of rising to a far higher level than in the past.

Now a few words as to our own race. It is an instance of the happy results that follow from the blending of different elements. In England and Ireland the aboriginal Celtic elements were found, in Wales and most of Ireland, and the north of Scotland; the Teutonic element came later; then the Norwegian and Danish, and later a small Norman invasion. All these blended to form one homogeneous race, out of which the Scotch and Welsh and Irish serve to make the blending more marked, each one being complementary to the others. There is great gain in the blending of these different elements, welded together by living our history together in the same small island subject to the same influences, so that we have developed a very strong type of national character and national patriotism. We have formed institutions that have become so characteristic that they bear transplanting. Institutions formed mainly in England, political institutions down to the seventeenth century, when they began to take their complete shape, have been made the model by all the other nations that desire to establish self-government among themselves in other parts of the world. They have been transplanted bodily to the British self-governing dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Newfoundland, where they are directly reproduced, with the form of the British Cabinet and Government under the British Crown. This is the great and definite result of the homogeneous character of the constitution established in England in the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Now within the last two centuries a new phenomenon has been introduced. The British people spread itself out over the world, first in the thirteen colonies which separated themselves from the mother country in the eighteenth century; later in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and to a somewhat less extent at the Cape. It is somewhat remarkable that in these two countries, Canada and the Cape, the blending of the foreign element has produced a good strain; it confirms the theory I have advanced, that if races are near each other, if they have friendly relations, can intermarry, and can understand one another, it would probably have good results for them to mingle; and within forty or fifty years the stock

would be not inferior to either in its strength of attachment to the mother country.

But now we come to a very interesting question, gentlemen, whether the British race, transplanted to these new climes, under different conditions of life, will begin to separate itself into divergent types of British manhood in Australia, in New Zealand, in Canada, and in South Africa? It is a question upon which at present we can only speculate; the phenomena are only beginning to show themselves, but we don't know how far the facilities now enjoyed in a growing ease of intercourse, a common literature and a common public opinion, may affect intellectual and moral results. Nor are we yet able to weigh against these the physical influences of climate and outward conditions, in order to decide how they will affect this tendency towards divergence. Psychical, intellectual and moral influences may cause divergence in types. Some divergence there must be: climate would make this inevitable. I am inclined to hope and believe that the divergence will not be widely marked, and I feel pretty confident that no such divergence of type will arise as will make it difficult for any one of these British stocks to understand the others. I am confirmed in my opinion by the fact, that though the people of the United States are separated from us now by a century and a quarter politically, though they don't understand us always in everything English, nor do we understand everything of the United States, still they understand us far better than any other country, and we have less difficulty in understanding them than we have in understanding other nations, as for example, Germany or Italy. I venture to believe that whatever differences in physical appearance or in mode of speech may arise, there will not be a lessening of intellectual and moral sympathy; politically we all agree in cherishing the same ideals. I certainly do not think the difference will ever be such as to make political unity throughout the Empire any more difficult than it is now.

Pardon a word of counsel. You are beginning to receive into Canada as into the United States a very large number of new immigrants. In the early times the immigrants were largely Germans and Scandinavians; they differ very little from us; but now the immigrants are largely from the South European and Slavonic peoples, who are more unlike us. Many of them have little or no notion of what free self-government means. It is a serious matter for you, if there should remain an unassimilable foreign element in the body politic, not understanding the spirit and genius of your institutions, who would

take part as voters without understanding the principles by which you are guided. It would be a political misfortune for you. It is a great political danger for you. Happily you are not getting such great numbers in one place as would make it impossible to avert the danger, if you will hold them, and educate them. A good deal has been done, but unless considerable efforts are made to bring them into the schools, to deal with them personally, neighbors showing interest in them and helping them by giving them an insight into your modes of life and ideas, you will have occasion some day or other to regret it. Perhaps the problem is easiest in your Northwest Provinces, where they will scatter over a large rural area and mingle with your own citizens. It is different in the large centres, where they tend to remain separate and not mingle with the people of British stock. In great cities like Toronto and Montreal the problem is particularly serious, but there is no reason in the world why the problem should not be solved, once your educational machinery and social benevolence are set to solve it. Only address yourselves to the tasks that lie before. We in England have inherited from the past not only things we have to be proud of, but also some which we have reason to regret. A considerable portion of the people have been only lately redeemed from ignorance; since only forty years ago a considerable portion have been freed from conditions of lamentable poverty; we are making efforts, which I hope will succeed, to further improve these conditions. But you need not have the faults of the past from which we suffer. You have an unlimited supply of rich land, you have high wages, and all the evidences of political prosperity. You have hardly any pauperism, and I don't see the need of any at all. All that belongs to comfort and wellbeing can be easily provided. You have a fertile soil and extraordinary facilities for commerce. The problem which much more rests upon you is not to let yourselves be absorbed by the fascinating task of developing your physical resources. It is a fascinating task; anything more fascinating it is difficult to see, than making the great floods of commerce flow along your transcontinental lines. Standing as you do between two seas, with all these natural resources at your feet, it would be very natural for you to be absorbed by the charm of developing these resources. But remember all the time that the problem that will tax your capacity is the great economic and political question, demanding the highest kind of mind to solve it. Men should study economics historically and philosophically, and make themselves masters of the subject. You need practical men of the



highest talent, statesmen of constructive political capacity, who will take their theories and apply them to political problems. Therefore let me beseech you not to let yourselves be drawn aside from the tasks of constructive statesmanship. There is a splendid opportunity for any Canadian to devote himself to Canadian statesmanship in this generation; and if he does he will deserve to be remembered as one of the makers of Canada, and just as much one of the benefactors of his country, as one who makes a great discovery or builds a great transcontinental line.

You all remember the anecdote of that man, General Wolfe, whose name I have mentioned with reverence: as his men were rowing him up the river he recited some lines, and he gave his opinion of the respective merits of poetry and war in the remark: "I would rather be the author of Gray's *Elegy* than take Quebec." That was a great statement, at any rate we can say who know the significance of the battle next day. And if it be true of the great poet, it is also true of the great philosopher, and of the great statesman who brings intellect to the tasks of statesmanship.

I hope therefore, and believe, that as in England we have always thought that one of the finest careers open for an inspiring life is that of public statesmanship, so in Canada it may be the same, however great may be the attractions of the development of your material resources.

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(October 9th, 1911.)

## The Program of the Home Government.

BY MR. HAMAR GREENWOOD, M.P.\*

**A**T a special meeting of the Canadian Club held on October 9th, 1911, Mr. Greenwood said:

I appreciate whole-heartedly the great compliment you have paid me in assembling here to-day at a special meeting to hear me address you, a compliment all the greater by comparison with the fact that the only other special meeting of the Canadian Club of Toronto this year was to welcome the very distinguished ambassador, the great scholar and the great Scotchman, Mr. Bryce of Washington. I am not an ambassador of Washington, but I would like to feel that in the career I have attempted and I hope not yet finished in England, I could carry with me from this city and this Dominion not any party—not any separate feeling, but the united respect of those who admire a man fighting in a difficult field, and because he is fighting hard for what he thinks is right.

To-day, though a Canadian, I am a member of the Imperial House, and I decline, as I have always done since I have been honored to be a member of that House, to take a party stand in colonial politics. And I lack the audacity many visitors have to advise you how to conduct your own local affairs. I am a member for Africa, and New Zealand, and Australia, and India, and all the Crown colonies, as well as a member for the great borough of Sunderland. I am told that it hurts and does not help Imperial politics for a member of a local House in the Dominion to lay down the law in England. We listen to that in patience, for the English are a most patient people. And when Englishmen come to Canada, and lay down the law here, they are not always listened to with patience, for Canadians are not the most patient people. (Laughter.)

On the problems of the Home Government I may claim to speak with knowledge, though, as I am not a member of Mr.

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\* Mr. Hamar Greenwood, member of the Imperial House of Commons for Sunderland, England, is a Canadian by birth. Though still a young man, he has won marked recognition for himself in British politics, and is regarded as one of the most promising of the new generation of English Liberals.

Asquith's Government, not with that authority which honestly I would like to possess. (Laughter.) Let me speak just two short words as preface in reference to its Imperial position. First, at the last Conference, for the first time in history, the Foreign Secretary of the Crown, Sir Edward Grey, took into his confidence and explained the situation to the representatives of the Dominions Overseas. That was the longest stride forward towards Imperial Federation in your time or mine. The navy and army of the United Kingdom to-day are stronger, better equipped, and more expensive than ever before. It costs £72,000,000, taken annually from the taxpayers of the Mother Country, to pay for its defence and yours. Up to the present you have not done your full share, and there is no other English M.P. who could come to this country, and this city of all cities, and have the pluck to tell you so. (Applause.) But 'he serves his country best who tells the truth most often,' and I put it to you: the great, prosperous Dominions Overseas have not yet done their full share in the defence of the Empire as a whole. (Applause.) The trend is towards larger, heartier support from the Overseas Dominions towards the English navy, which is as much to you as to your kin in Yorkshire. Don't carp at the Mother Country: she is doing more than her fair share, and without complaint.

Now for the program of the Home Government! I can't speak with the authority of a Minister; I speak with the knowledge of a back bencher of the Home Government. The essential program of this Government in that period before its time runs out, I will outline by mentioning five points: first, land reform; secondly, electoral reform; thirdly, the national insurance bill; fourthly, the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales; fifthly, home rule for Ireland. (Cheers.) The first four subjects have some academic interest for you; the fifth, unhappily, like all those which run the chance of raising a protest, is more popular.

I think I should explain what the Government at home is trying to do for its domestic policy: for what makes England better is for the betterment of the Empire, just as what makes Canada better is for the betterment of the Empire. First, as to land reform. The land system drove you and your mothers and your fathers out of England:—you are all descended from the kings of Ireland or Scotland or the dukes of England! Most of your fathers were driven out by the semi-feudal system. To-day they are leaving scores of thousands of small farms to people this new Dominion. It is the greatest possible blessing to you, but it bleeds the home

land to death. The Government intends, and I will back it up, to make access to the land in the mother country as easy as access to the land of Canada now is. (Applause.) Eighty per cent. of our emigrants come to Canada. This is the finest thing about the emigration from the Old Country. But if I had my way, they would be enabled to go on the land there: the Scotch crofter, the Irish peasant, the Welsh hillsman, the English laborer, would find it as easy to get land and make a home, as it is in Canada. I am bound to admit that he and his children, having regard to the social conditions in the old world, will probably have better opportunities in this new world than in the land of our fathers.

As to electoral reform. Do you know that an election in England lasts three weeks? Fancy three weeks of September the twenty-first in this country! (Laughter.) Nobody would be on speaking terms but the policemen! No home would be happy! Well, we have it for three weeks. And we have a system of permitting a man to vote in as many places as he has property. So that some gentlemen who are lucky in this world's goods may vote in five, ten, or sometimes fifteen different constituencies, and these modern political Arabs wander up and down the country, voting in different constituencies as the election works on, and in the House of Commons to-day there are over fifty members elected not by residential voters at all, but by these nomadic out-voters. We intend to have the election not only on the same day all over, but to allow to one man only one vote, in order to get a fuller and freer opinion of the democracy of England, as you do in Canada.

The National Insurance Bill. This bill is statutory Christianity writ large. It is a bill for the insurance of fifteen million people, without adding a farthing to the taxation of the country. It is a bill based on the best actuarial reports in the whole world. The employer, the employee, and the State, all three contribute towards a common fund, and this fund is to be distributed through our splendid post office system. The Old Country is going to wipe out preventible poverty by the application of the most benevolent of all modern systems, the science of mutual insurance. I know that in this country those who do not travel in the Old World perhaps do not see the necessity for a bill of this kind, but the Old Countries, with their accumulated centuries of difficulties as well as excellences, cannot grapple with these problems as you can with the easier problems that confront you without a history or traditions to speak of, or prejudices. That bill is going to make a new England in the Old Land, without taking from the self-respect of a single man or woman who is insured.



because each has to contribute his share or he does not get the benefit. If you have an opportunity to study this bill, I advise you to do it; it may be the pioneer measure which may be adopted in other countries.

Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales. While there is the Anglican Church in the principality of Wales, the vast majority of Welshmen are Methodists or Baptists or anything at all, and all the Welsh members ask for is to have that equality in religion every self-respecting man or woman now demands for his particular creed. This has raised intense opposition, and I myself have been called a godless statesman; yet in my day I taught as fine a Sunday School class as ever studied the catechism of the mother church of which I am a humble member. This is one of the things that harass and worry the Government in the Old World. But Welsh disestablishment will come next year or the year after. It will be better for the mother church and will remove a grievance that undoubtedly presses upon the people.

Home Rule for Ireland. (Cheers.) This is the predominant topic in the Old Country, a topic on which by-elections have been fought, a topic which has raised more bitterness during the last two generations perchance than any other issue in the English-speaking world.

There are 103 Irish members of Parliament. Of these 103 there are 86 Home Rulers, and 17 anti-Home Rulers. With reference to these, 17, many of whom are friends of my own, they represent Ulster constituencies, and I can say frankly they are militant Protestants, to put it mildly, and they hold with sincerity that to grant Home Rule means that they, their families, and their possessions will suffer. These seventeen are the Old Guard of the opposition to Home Rule as Mr. Asquith understands it.

By Home Rule I mean a constitution almost word for word similar to the constitution under which you live here in Ontario. The Irish people want nothing to do with the army and navy, except to furnish still a large proportion of our best soldiers and some of our best sailors; they don't want to have to do either with the Imperial policy any more than the people in Ontario, acting through their local Legislature that sits here in Toronto.

I put it to you: is it not a reasonable request, when you consider that Ireland has lost four million of her population in the last fifty years, when her income is assessable for income taxes, though England has her three hundred millions sterling per annum. They will continue to pay their share of Imperial taxes, but surely Ireland is shamefully treated. And



when south of the line there are ten million people, Irish and of Irish descent, who never speak well of the English, surely there is a grave danger. Yet that fine old Tory, the Duke of Wellington, won his campaigns with Roman Catholic Irish soldiers, and Roman Catholic legislators occupy high and honored positions in this Dominion and throughout the English-speaking world. No Government dare, no citizen would deny to other people the right to govern themselves in local affairs merely because they don't agree with you in religion. Thank God, the old prejudices and gross ignorance are disappearing, and now in the United Kingdom, and I hope throughout the Empire, the predominant feeling is that the Irish people are justly entitled to local self-government.

I think one weak link in the chain of Imperial development is this refusal to grant Home Rule to Ireland, but it will come next year. The Bill is in print; it will go through the House of Commons, with a great majority I believe. And in my opinion the House of Lords, which is slow to learn—but still it learns, though slowly,—will not reject the measure. In England it has the cordial support of the people, and the Overseas Dominions will not deny to Old Ireland a constitution such as you enjoy in Ontario. The Asquith Government stands or falls on Home Rule, and I will support it on that measure. And when the measure is passed, we shall feel that we have done a great act of long-delayed justice to a splendid race of people. The constitution will be such that no minority will be persecuted. It will be one great step towards that day when, as I trust, in due course the principle of local self-government will be extended to England, Scotland, and Wales. Elected representatives from Canada will sit there too in that Imperial Council. And I would ask this Club to bear me in mind on that great day when the Imperial Federal Parliament arises, and if I cannot find a seat in the land of my fathers, I hope that the land of my birth will send me as an adequate and fit representative.

What makes for the democratizing of the Home Government makes for the weal of the whole Empire, and I submit to you, that these items of the program of the Imperial Government should command your respect, and I should hope your unanimous support. Until such democratic measures become law, and especially until we have solved the difficulty of Irish Government, we cannot expect very rapid development of Imperial federation. In my opinion this program makes for the betterment and the strengthening of the centre of the Empire, which you and I look forward to as the great ideal of the English-speaking race.

(November 6th, 1911.)

## The Constitutional History of Canada.

BY THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE RIDDELL.\*

**A**DDRESSING the first regular meeting of the Canadian Club for the season of 1911-12, Mr. Justice Riddell said:—

Before the conquest of Canada by the British in 1759-60, the government and constitution of our country were much like those of a Province of France—New France was as nearly as possible a transcript in this regard of the old France across the sea.

The King of France was represented by a Governor appointed by the King—usually a noble, who desired to replenish his coffers from the wealth of the new land; he had in Canada much the same powers as the King in France: but had always with him a watchful guardian of the interests of the King and of France, the Intendant—and the Intendant had also very large powers indeed particularly in respect of finance, police and justice. Then there was a Council, not elected but appointed, who acted as a combination of Judge, lawyer and administrator—the King, however, could disapprove and thereby nullify any act of theirs.

There was no such body as a Parliament in the English sense: but the country was governed on feudal principles.

In the country were the nobility—the noblesse—the seigniors who owned the land; they paid homage to the King, and had under them the peasants ("habitants" as they called themselves) to whom they leased land to be held on much the same terms as the lands were held by the peasantry in France. This seigniorial tenure was introduced substantially by Richelieu in 1627.

Not only did a Seignior when he succeeded to his estate pay homage to the King, his feudal superior, but when he sold or transferred his seigniori he was obliged to pay a part, usually (at least in theory) a fifth part, of the purchase money to such superior. He also had the glorious privilege of being

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\*The Hon. William Renwick Riddell is a Justice of the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice for Ontario, and has made many addresses on Constitutional Law and History.

eligible to be appointed a member of the Superior Council—if the authorities saw fit,—he might also have a commission in the militia—for in time of war all the inhabitants of Canada might be called upon to do service in the army under the Governor or other commander. Very often he did not own his land in the fullest sense—frequently the Crown reserved mines, minerals, oak-timber and masts for ship-building, such lands as might be required for military purposes, and the like.

The Seigniors had in theory the right of dispensing justice, but that right was exercised by very few, and very seldom even by them.

The habitant as “censitaire” (tenant) was under many feudal obligations familiar to readers of Blackstone—for example, he was bound to take his grain to be ground at the Seignior’s mill, and to pay for such grinding. If he went to another mill, that did not relieve him from paying his Seignior all the same. If a habitant, being the feudal inferior, desired to dispose of the land which he held, he was obliged to pay a substantial part of the purchase money to the Seignior; and worse, the Seignior might himself take the land within forty days of the sale. He was liable to the *corvée*, or forced labor, for his Seignior, as in France; he must give the Seignior one fish out of every dozen of those caught in Seigniorial waters; wood and stone might be taken from his land by the Seignior to build or repair manor-house, church or mill.

But while the peasants had no part in the government of the country, and were inferiors, their lot was immensely superior to that of their brethren in the old land, as they themselves were essentially superior to the peasants of old France in intelligence and manners.

The Seignior’s lot might not be thought a very happy one—removed as he was thousands of miles away from Paris; and not seldom with no one of his rank with whom to associate.

But they all loved Canada—“O! Canada, mon pays, mes amours”—as their descendants do still—and no one can understand the depth of that devotion who has not mingled with “Les Canadiens.”

They were free, bold and adventurous, frugal, industrious and moral; and made the very best of soldiers for the kind of country in which they were called upon to fight.

Next to, if not indeed sometimes above the Seignior, was the Curé—sometimes the only one in a Seigniorship except (or possibly not even excepting) the Seignior who could read and write. The essentially religious character of the French-Can-



adian is seen in the high place the Curé held in his regard—a place which is little lower now than it was a century and a half ago. Indeed it has been said that the Canadian Curé exercised in Canada, the power in France of the King, the noble and the priest.

But neither priest nor peasant had any part in making the laws by which they both were governed; their government was arbitrary and military; they were accustomed to obey their superiors—and anything more unlike a constitution in our latter day sense than was the mode of government of that happy and fearless primitive people it would be hard to find.

In 1759 Quebec was taken by Wolfe, and the first period of Canadian Constitution history came to an end. All Canada in 1760 was under the power of Britain, and the military commanders in the army of the conquerors governed the land as a conquered country. But the religion of the Canadians was not interfered with. Catholics as they were, and their conquerors belonging to a Protestant nation, their law based upon the Civil Law of Rome was administered by a conqueror whose law was based on the Common Law of England. Their French customs were respected and the only strange law imposed on them was the criminal law of England, which was more merciful than their own, which permitted torture, breaking on the wheel and arbitrary imprisonment.

The definitive Treaty between Great Britain and France—the Treaty of Paris signed 10th February, 1763,—placed the allegiance of Canada beyond any doubt, as by that instrument France ceded her to Great Britain. It was not, however, till October of that year that any change was made in the government of the new country. On the 7th of October, 1763, a Royal proclamation was issued establishing in “the extensive and valuable acquisition in America four distinct and separate Governments.... Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Grenada.”

(Those of you who have studied botany may have noticed certain plants described as “*Canadensis*,” “*Canadense*,” which are not found in Canada at all. This is explained by the fact that when the botanical terminology was fixed, Canada included practically all the eastern part of the territory bordering on the Mississippi and down as far as Louisiana.)

Quebec, with which alone we are concerned, is defined in the proclamation in such a way as to make it wholly impossible to follow the description: and, indeed, no good end would be achieved could we at all make sure of the precise meaning of the words used.



By this Royal Proclamation, which was the beginning of the third period, the Governor was given power, with the advice and consent of the Council, to summon and call General Assemblies, and the Governor with the consent of the Council and Representatives was to make laws for the welfare and good government of the Colony "as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England." He was also, with the advice of the Council, to erect Courts of Justice to hear and determine all causes "as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England" with right of appeal to the Privy Council at Westminster.

It will be at once apparent what a tremendous change was intended to be brought about under this Proclamation. The Canadian had lived under a feudal system, looking up to and relying upon his Seigneur or feudal lord; there was now to be an Assembly of Representatives, though few of the Canadians could have any part in selecting the members: the former civil law under which they were born and had lived was to be wholly abolished and the English law introduced (think of the change if the people of Ontario were to be suddenly placed under the law of France or Germany) old customs were to become naught, and all was to be in confusion.

Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas were in fact established, being Courts of Law and of Equity respectively; and Justices of the Peace were appointed with inferior jurisdiction.

Many if not most of the English-speaking inhabitants of Canada came from the English colonies to the south, some too came from England; and these, Anglo-Saxon fashion, practically monopolized the control of the country—and they appear to have "run" the Courts as well. The many French-Canadians and the few British-Canadians found it impossible to agree: complaint and counter-complaint were made to the King. An Executive Council was formed, consisting of a group of officials appointed by the Governor. This was not unlike the old régime; and in it, many well-known men of the Canadian noblesse found a place.

The French-Canadians ignored the provisions for an Assembly, and it seemed impossible to get them to take any interest in a movement for such a body: it was not thought practicable to institute a representative chamber under such circumstances. Petitions were presented to the Governor signed by the British residents only, asking for a Legislative Assembly, but the Governor reported to the Home Government that the Canadians had refused to join in the petition. The main if not the only difficulty lay in religion. While the French had been

by the Treaty of Paris assured of the free exercise of their religion, it was apparent that no Roman Catholic could be admitted to a British Parliamentary body consistently with the principles then professed in reference to the Parliament in the United Kingdoms—while it would be absurd to expect that the numerous French-Canadian Catholics would submit to be governed by a handful of Protestants, not one-hundredth of their number. The English did not want an Assembly with Roman Catholics in it: the French would not have one without. The English-speaking part of the community, of whom the early Governors speak in no very flattering terms, objected even to the French Catholics sitting on their own juries in their own Courts, and acted in everything in a most arbitrary and intolerant manner. The land was in a state of chaos, and the whole legal machinery paralyzed. The Canadians did not like juries, expressing their wonder that the English should think their property safer in the determination of tailors and shoemakers than in that of their Judges. Besides, jury trials cost too much. The English had then the same firm belief in the jury system which characterizes some of their descendants to this day.

Finally, in June, 1774, the Quebec Act passed the Houses of Parliament at Westminster and the fourth period began. Notwithstanding the vigorous protest of the Corporation of London, influenced probably by the English in Quebec, and certainly affecting to act in their interest, "that the Roman Catholic religion, which is known to be idolatrous and bloody" was "established by this bill"; and notwithstanding that the King was reminded by them that his family had been called to the throne in consequence of the exclusion of the Roman Catholic ancient branch of the Stewart line (and he was solemnly told that the failure to provide in civil cases for jury trials, "that wonderful effort of human reason," was a breach of the promises made to British immigrants, and violated His Majesty's promises in His Proclamation of 1763), George III. signed the Bill, and it became law, 14 Geo. III., c. 83.

This Act defined the Province of Quebec as containing all the territory now the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario and the "hinterland" of the English Colonies to the south, down the Mississippi to Louisiana. The Proclamation of 1763 was annulled, Roman Catholics were permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion and their clergy to receive their accustomed dues—all matters of property and civil rights were to be decided according to the laws of Canada, but the criminal law of England was to continue. A council appointed by the

King was provided for which should legislate for the Colony, and there was to be an Executive Council of five as a Privy Council—the scheme for a representative and elective Assembly contained in the Proclamation of 1763 was not continued in the Statute,—the Statute, notwithstanding Fox's protest, declaring it "inexpedient to call an Assembly." The fact is that it was not thought safe to trust power to a Roman Catholic Legislature. Some American writers, who are suspicious of everything done by the British King and his Administration at or near the times we are now considering, think, or affect to think, that the Quebec Act, passed as it certainly was, to pacify the French-Canadians, had in view a possible defection of Canada from Great Britain to her discontented Colonies. I know of nothing to justify that suspicion;—"a jaundiced eye always sees yellow"—there is nowhere any sentiment expressed by the Canadians of anything other than fervent devotion to the Crown—the like sentiment characterizes them to-day—and it is hard to see how a French-Canadian Catholic could imagine his lot would be bettered by joining with the people of New England, the hated Bastonnais, his hereditary foes. We know that both pulpit and Congress expressed the greatest alarm at the tolerance of Popery, that "blood-thirsty, idolatrous and hypocritical creed," and loudly denounced this betrayal of Protestant principle.

It is a fact not noticed by many people that the nation which boasts, and rightly boasts, that it has no established church, but that all creeds are equally recognized in the United States, began its career by protesting against allowing the French-Canadians to use their own religion in Quebec, that "blood-thirsty, idolatrous and hypocritical creed."

Notwithstanding the address of the Continental Congress of 1774, filled with philosophy and appeals to Beccaria and Montesquieu, which was signed by Henry Middleton, President, translated into French and printed in that language in Philadelphia, and then generally distributed among the Canadians, they remained loyal to the British Crown—Sir Guy Carleton "pursuing the exact reverse in every particular of the infatuated policy which alienated and lost to the Empire the thirteen Colonies." There can be little, if any doubt, that it was the Quebec Act which reconciled the Canadians to British rule and so played no small part in assuring the loyalty of Canada to the Empire.

The first Legislative Council under the new system met in August, 1775, the Act coming into force May 1st of the same year.



The inhabitants of what is now called Quebec remained in great part French; and as to those in that part of Canada there was little trouble arising from the provisions of the Quebec Act. The English remained discontented for a time with the change in the law in civil matters, but experience showed that Canadian law, based as it was on the Civil law, did not much inconvenience the English merchant. The English criminal law was not objected to by the Frenchman,—bloody as it was, it was less barbarous than his own. But the Revolutionary War caused the immigration into the western part of that territory, afterwards Canada West, of a very large number of Loyalists who had left home and property to follow their flag and retain their allegiance. These were accustomed to English law and customs, and fretted under the foreign law to which they were subjected in Canada.

The French law and customs seemed to these vigorous and sturdy Anglo-Saxons absurd and intolerable; and the Protestantism of the newcomers was repulsive to the devout Catholic French-Canadians. The United Empire Loyalists had come from the New England States and elsewhere, and had been accustomed to freedom and self-government; they could not tolerate the irresponsible control of an appointed council, and petition after petition made its way to the King claiming relief.

The numbers rapidly increased in this western land, now Ontario, the Queen Province of the Dominion, until about 1790 there were there over 30,000 inhabitants. In Lower Canada, the disputes between the old and the new Canadians, the recent and the ancient subjects of the Crown, had continued. Of the twenty-two members who formed the first Legislative Council, eight indeed were French and Catholic, the oath of Supremacy having been graciously waived in their favor; but the English persisted in their attempt to shew “the difference between the conquerors and the conquered”—they feared or pretended to fear their loyalty, charged them semi-officially with being “rank rebels”; and in general acted as “patriots” (self-styled) are wont to act.

The Home authorities at length acceded to the request of the new colonists in the West; and the well-known Constitutional Act (31 George III. c. 31) was passed by the British Parliament. The Act was promoted by Pitt, and naturally met with strong opposition. Before the bar of the House of Commons there was heard a representative of the English colonists in Quebec: he vigorously protested against any division of the province, and demanded instead the repeal of the

Quebec Act. In the House were heard the usual arguments against Roman Catholics being admitted to a share of the government and against the imposition upon free-born Britons of foreign law which determined rights by the agency of Judges instead of juries, whose rules were those derived from the Roman law and not from the semi-divine common law of England. The merchants in London having trade relations with Canada also petitioned against it. Fox attacked the Bill as not liberal enough—he thought that Canada should have a constitution consistent with the principles of freedom. He also criticized the provision for the setting aside of lands for the support of the Protestant clergy, and objected to the division of the Colony into two parts of which one would necessarily be almost wholly French, the other English.

All opposition, however, was overborne by Pitt. By this Act, which brought in the fifth period Canada was divided into two parts, Canada East or Lower Canada, and Canada West or Upper Canada (now Quebec and Ontario). To each were given a Legislative Assembly to be elected by the people and an upper house called the Legislative Council, whose members were nominated for life by the Crown. The Crown also appointed all the public officers, including the members of the Executive Council for each Province. The free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was once more guaranteed; and the Crown agreed to set aside one-eighth part of all unallotted Crown lands for the support of a Protestant Clergy. Some seem to think it was one-seventh, not one-eighth. But such is not the case: the agreement was to set aside one section for every seven sections granted to others. The Home authorities, also, reserved the right to levy duties for the regulation of navigation and commerce.

The object of this Act is described by Lord Granville to be to “assimilate the Constitution of Canada to that of Great Britain as nearly as the difference arising from the manners of the people and from the present situation of the Province will admit.”

In Upper Canada the first Provincial Parliament met in a rough frame house at Newark (now Niagara) in 1792: and from that time onward the flood of legislation has never failed. Courts were established, the laws of England introduced, new laws made. The Colony rapidly increased in population and wealth—in twenty years the population of Upper Canada was estimated to have risen to 77,000—and there was reasonable harmony and good-will.

In Lower Canada, the English and French Canadians continued to quarrel till the war of 1812 brought about at least an external peace. And everybody knows how the French Canadians fought during the war of 1812—not so many perhaps know how the Upper Canadians fought.

But in both Canadas, the curse of an appointed and irresponsible executive became more apparent as time went on, riches increased and affairs became more complex—benevolent despotism does not answer for any but the simplest communities.

In the Upper Province, the Executive Council became an oligarchy, nominated by the Governor from among public officers, judges, bishops, members of the Legislative Council, etc. These were a privileged class, monopolized the offices, obtained large grants of land and generally acted as irresponsible favorites of royalty are wont to act.

The Legislative Assembly began to fight against this tyranny to which freemen could not and would not submit; but the placemen long bid defiance to the popular body.

The nominated Legislative Council, too, formed on the model of the House of Lords (but not hereditary) claimed and exercised the right to reject and even to amend money bills—and as the Crown had a permanent civil list, the Legislative, representative, Assembly was helpless.

Fierce conflicts arose, the representative body claiming that the Ministers of the Crown should be responsible to them—but the body of office-holders, who were connected by social ties, common interest, and sometimes family relationship—and who were accordingly called the “Family Compact”—resisted all attacks.

A rebellion, largely due to the obstinate folly—or worse—of the Governor, broke out at length in 1837, but it was quickly quelled. Canadians were too loyal to permit of the success of a rebellion against the Crown.

In Lower Canada matters had taken even a worse course—the minority who were English in blood and spirit had grown not only in numbers but in influence—most of the Legislative and Executive Councillors were selected by the Governors from their ranks. The French Canadians, loyal as they were, were looked upon still as a conquered people and were “kept in their place” with true British arrogance. The Assembly was naturally almost wholly French and Catholic—while the Councils were English and Protestant. The Anglo-Saxon never forgot his dearly prized superiority—his race and language continued to be the very best. When a Governor replied



to an address from the Assembly in French before speaking in English, he was roundly denounced by the English press. His right to speak publicly any language but his own was denied, and the precedence given to the French language was "a base betrayal of British sovereignty" and "would lead to the degradation of the mother country." One of the ablest of their advocates went so far as to say, "Lower Canada must be English at the expense, if necessary, of not being British"—language as significant as intelligible.

Most of the troubles, however, were financial. The Assembly made the same claims as its sister Assembly in Upper Canada and with the like success—or want of success.

Petitions were sent to the Home Government by the outraged majority, but in vain. The English openly expressed their purpose to make Quebec an English colony—and in Lower Canada also a rebellion broke out—and this also was quickly quelled. The two movements were largely independent of each other, although the "Patriots," alias "Rebels," in each Province were in communication with those in the other.

At this stage, the Government at Westminster induced John George Lambton, Lord Durham, to go to Canada and make a thorough investigation into the causes of the troubles and to suggest a remedy. Lord Durham's Report is still an inexhaustible well of fact from which all future historians, constitutional and otherwise, must draw. His profound sympathy with all efforts toward freedom, his knowledge of the Constitution of the Motherland and his broad human outlook all fitted him for his task. It is not too much to say, that all Canadians and all lovers of Constitutional and representative government throughout the British world owe John George Lambton, an eternal debt of gratitude.

As the result of his efforts, the Queen's Message in 1839 recommended the Union of Upper and Lower Canada; but the Government got into trouble, and moreover there was much difference of opinion in Parliament. Finally, however, the broad Imperial views of Lord Durham because Lord Durham was an Imperialist in the sense in which we now use the term—made their impression upon Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, and in 1840 the Union Bill drafted by Sir James Stuart was introduced into the House of Commons by Lord John. It was passed without much change or opposition, receiving the Royal assent July 23rd, 1840, and came into force in February, 1841 (3 & 4 Vict., c. 35): and thus began the sixth period.

The main characteristic of the constitution given by this Act is that responsible government was now at length granted—Her Majesty's government in Canada were responsible to the people of Canada and not to the Home authorities. Before this, while legislative powers were given to the Provinces, responsible government was withheld—and the only remedy the people had when their grievances grew acute, was to refuse supply.

By the Union Act, however, much was to be changed. The two Provinces became the Province of Canada, for which a Legislative Assembly was to be elected with forty-two members from each section. A Legislative Council was to be nominated by the Governor, not less in number than twenty, increased from time to time as should be thought fit, the Councillors to hold office for life. The Council was to be presided over by a Speaker appointed by the Government, the Assembly elected their own Speaker. All written and printed documents referring to the election of members, summoning and proroguing of the Legislature, and proceedings of either House, were to be in English alone. The laws in force in either section of Canada were to continue in force until repealed or amended; and courts continued, etc., etc. The territorial and other hereditary revenues of the Crown were surrendered for a fixed sum—and it may be said in general that the new Constitution was as exact a copy of that of the United Kingdom as circumstances would allow. Lord Durham wrote that it was not "possible to secure harmony in any other way than by administering the government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain," and while he would not "impair a single prerogative of the Crown," and he believed "that the interests of the people of these provinces require the protection of prerogatives which have not hitherto been exercised," still "the Crown must submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions."

The population of Lower Canada was at this time about 630,000, while that of Upper Canada was about 470,000—the Lower Canadians felt that it was an injustice that they should have no more members than the Upper Province—those in the Upper Province thought that three English-speaking Canadians were worth at least four French Canadians,—this grievance, as we shall see, changed face before many years. The French Canadians also felt aggrieved by the proscription of their language. Their complaints were not unnatural—the provisions complained of arose from Lord Durham's view

that it was necessary to unite the two races on such terms as that the English would be given the domination. (That sounds very modern, does it not?) He said, "without effecting the change so rapidly or so roughly as to shock the feelings or to trample on the welfare of the existing generation, it must henceforth be the first and steady purpose of the British Government to establish an English population, with English law and language in this Province, and to trust its government to none but a decidedly English legislature."

This object wholly failed of fulfilment,—and I venture to think it will continue to fail of fulfilment, so long as the French Canadian mother continues to do her part as she has been,—the French remained French and their influence in Parliament steadily increased. They had been ostracised politically by the first Governor, and the acceptance of a government with a French Canadian at its head by his successor struck the High Tory Duke of Wellington with horror and dismay. The first Legislative Council of twenty-four members contained eight French Canadians.

At first the government was conducted on the principle that the French were inferior; but this idea speedily vanished, and before long, prominent French Canadians became not only members, but in large measure masters of the Administration.

The Home administration had retained the power of veto upon all acts of the Legislature by means of the Governor, an Imperial Officer; and it seemed as time went by almost impossible for those in the Colonial Office (or indeed in any of the offices of the Imperial Government) to learn that parliamentary government meant the same thing in Canada as in England, and that Canadians, French or English, were much more capable of understanding and deciding what was proper for their country than any Islander in London could be. The intense conservatism—I am not using "conservatism" in the political sense at all—of the average Home Minister or official may not be considered strange when we see even Gibbon, the learned historian, using such language as this:

"If you begin to improve the constitution you may be driven step by step from the disfranchisement of Old Sarum to the King in Newgate, the Lords voted useless, the Bishops abolished and a House of Commons *sans culottes*." Old Sarum was, you remember, a field, which had sent members to the House of Commons in early times when it was a city, and continued to do so when there were no persons living there at all. The House of Lords has, indeed, been in our own day at length, next thing to voted useless, and as for the House of



Commons, there is no member there now in knee breeches, they are all found with long trousers, and so are "sans culottes" in very fact.

Even greater men (perhaps) were subject to the same horrifying fears, for we may notice the predictions of Robert Southey. He was a poet and a man of great capacity. They were collected long ago by Mr. Phillips of "*The Times*." In 1803 Southey proclaimed that "the Protestant Dissenters will die away. Destroy the test and you kill them." But it was the overthrow of Monarchy which was always in his view. "The more I see the more I read, and the more I reflect," he writes in 1813, "the more reason there appears to me to fear that our turn of revolution is hastening on." In 1815 he writes: "The foundations of Government are undermined. The props may last during your lifetime and mine, but I cannot conceal from myself a conviction that at no very distant day the whole fabric must fall." In 1816 he writes: "The only remedy (if even that be not too late) is to check the press." In 1820: "There is an infernal spirit abroad, and crushed it must be. The question is whether it will be cut short in its course or suffered to spend itself like a fever. In the latter case we shall go on, through a bloodier revolution than that of France to an iron military Government." In 1823: "The repeal of the Test Act will be demanded, and must be granted. The Dissenters will get into the corporations. (That was at the time it was suggested that a man who did not happen to belong to the Church of England might possibly not be a bad member of Parliament. The idea that a Baptist, a Unitarian, or an Anything-arian, should be allowed to buy stock in a joint stock company, was thought to be a terrible thing in those days). Church property will be attacked in Parliament. Reform in Parliament will be carried; and then—FAREWELL, A LONG FAREWELL, TO ALL OUR GREATNESS." When the Catholic Relief Bill passed he prophesied the results: "The Protestant flag will be struck, the enemy will march in with flying colours, the Irish Church will be despoiled, the Irish Protestants will lose heart, and great numbers will emigrate, flying while they can from the wrath to come." In 1832, it was proposed, to pass the Reform Bill—"The direct consequence of Parliamentary reform must be a new disposal of Church property, and an equitable adjustment with the fundholders—terms which in both cases mean spoliation." He was disposed to pray that "The cholera morbus may be sent us as a lighter plague than that which we have chosen for our-

selves." The King threatens to make Peers! This also was suggested but the other day. "Nothing then remains for us but to await the course of revolution. I shall not live to see what sort of edifice will be constructed out of the ruins, but I shall go to rest in the sure confidence that God will provide as is best for His Church and people." Later on, in 1838, he writes: "I am not without strong apprehensions that before this year passes away London will have its Three Days." And so forth, and so forth. Robert Southey had not a keen sense of humor.

The Governors in Canada came in conflict from time to time with the Legislatures who claimed all the rights of the British Parliament; but on the whole, the new Constitution worked well—and at length the responsibility of the administration to the people's representatives was fully admitted.

The two parts of the Province were of such different laws, manners, etc., that much of the legislation was for one only of the Canadas—and gradually the theory arose that a ministry must command a majority of the members from each part. This produced endless difficulties; and it was the cause of much intrigue and "log-rolling."

The Upper Province rapidly increased in wealth and population, overtaking and passing the Lower Province by 1850; and many of its public men complained of the provision, formerly favorable to their section, that each part should have the same number of representatives. Representation by Population—"Rep. by Pop.," as it was generally called—became a watchword of a whole political party in Upper Canada.

When the Ashburton-Webster Treaty was made in 1842—the "Ashburton Capitulation," as Lord Palmerston called it—and Maine was thrust like a wedge between Canada and the British Colony to the east without consulting either colony, the attention of all British Americans was called to the necessity of a highway between the divided Colonies; this plan gave way to a scheme for a Railway, an Intercolonial Railway; and in 1852 the Governments of Canada and New Brunswick agreed to build a line down the valley of the St. John. But this plan passed from an active stage, the Colonial Minister refused to guarantee the cost. From that time on, however, Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia never wholly lost sight of the project; and various attempts were made to revive it.

These and other matters influenced statesmen of all parties and Provinces to seek a remedy: and the plan of Lord Durham outlined in his Report, for the Confederation of all the

British American Colonies was from time to time made the subject of discussion. He was the first man in a responsible position to recommend the Union of all the British American Colonies. As early as 1858 a responsible Minister of the Crown in Canada, Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. T. Galt, openly advocated it and moved for the appointment of a committee to ascertain the views of the people of the Lower Provinces and of the Imperial Government. In 1861 Mr. (afterwards Sir) John A. Macdonald (first Prime Minister of Canada), while opposing the principle of Rep. by Pop. in Canada, said the only feasible scheme as a remedy for the evils complained of was a Confederation of all the Provinces. And at length in 1864 he effected an agreement with his strongest political foe, Mr. George Brown, to secure this object.

Before this time the Colonial Secretary had assured the Governor-General that any Union, partial or complete, suggested with the concurrence of the Colonies themselves would be most favourably considered.

The Lower Provinces had tired of the fruitless negotiations looking toward Union with Canada, and had in the Session of their respective Parliaments in 1864 authorized the appointment of delegates to discuss and if possible to bring about a Union of the Maritime Provinces, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Newfoundland always stood aloof. A meeting of these delegates had been set for the 1st of September, 1864. The Canadians felt that it would be advisable to take advantage of this opportunity; and accordingly eight members of the Coalition Government, of both sides of politics, went to Charlottetown, met the Conference and were asked to and did express their views. The Maritime delegates are understood to have come to the conclusion that a Maritime Union was impracticable, but that a union on the larger basis might be effected. In order that the feasibility of such a Confederation might be discussed and considered from every point of view, the Charlottetown Conference was adjourned; and it was agreed to hold another Conference at Quebec, to be attended by delegates from all the Provinces interested. This Conference met in the Parliament Buildings, Quebec, 10th October, 1864, and was attended by delegates from Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island; resolutions were adopted which formed the basis of the British North America Act subsequently passed, which established the Dominion of Canada—the seventh period being the result.



Beyond any question, the American Civil War and the Trent affair of 1861 had much to do with the movement for Union. So also had the anticipated "revocation" of the Reciprocity Treaty, and when this Treaty was in fact abrogated in 1866, its abrogation had no little effect in hastening matters to a conclusion—but into that I cannot enter at the present stage, it is too complicated and extensive a question.

The Imperial Government expressed their approval of the proposed scheme as soon as it was brought to their notice (with two exceptions of no moment for our present discussion). The United States also expressed approval in general.

Both Houses of Parliament in Canada approved of the scheme in 1865 by large majorities; the New Brunswick Government, however, met with defeat at the polls when they ventured on an appeal to the electorate without bringing the question before the Legislature. The Nova Scotia House of Assembly in 1866 gave their adherence to the project by a majority vote of 31 to 19; and in the same year the former Government in New Brunswick were returned by a large majority at a new election; this new election had been ordered by the Governor by what many would consider a piece of sharp practice. The whole story certainly makes amusing reading. The House in that Colony also approved the plan by a large majority.

In 1865, and again in 1866, Prince Edward Island by her Legislature had in emphatic terms refused to enter into the proposed Union. Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia sent delegates to England for the necessary legislation by the Imperial Parliament. Prince Edward Island was again invited to join and its representative, the Premier, then in London, was favorably impressed with the terms offered; but on his return home, his government was defeated.

Accordingly the British North America Act (30-31 Vic., c. 3) was passed by the Parliament at Westminster in 1867, creating the Dominion of Canada, composed of four Provinces, Ontario (formerly Upper Canada), Quebec (formerly Lower Canada), Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. On the 1st of July, 1867, was the first "Dominion Day" celebrated.

It was the common belief then and since that the delegates desired that Canada should be called the "Kingdom of Canada," so as to show or equality with the other "Kingdoms" across the sea. And it was believed at that time by many and is still by some that the United States objected to this title. I do not know of any reason for that belief. At all events,

while "Kingdom" had been suggested, we were for some reason or other called the "Dominion" of Canada.

In 1869, another offer was made to Prince Edward Island, but this was also refused. Negotiations, however, renewed in 1872, were more successful,—they had got into financial difficulties in that little Province,—and the Island joined the Dominion as a Province, 1st July, 1873, the formal Order-in-Council being dated at Windsor, 26th June, 1873.

In the meantime the Dominion had bought out the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870; and out of part of the territory so acquired was formed the province of Manitoba by Act of the Dominion Parliament, 33 Vic., c. 3, 12th May, 1870.

In the far West was the island of Vancouver, made a Crown Colony in 1859, but reunited with the mainland in the Colony of British Columbia in 1866. In 1870 an arrangement was entered into that this Colony should also join the Dominion upon condition of the construction by Canada of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Union was effected 30th July, 1871, by an Order-in-Council at Windsor, 16th May, 1871.

More recently two more Provinces have been formed out of part of the enormous territory of our Great West, viz., Alberta and Saskatchewan, constituted by the Acts of the Dominion Parliament, 1905, 4 & 5 Edward VII. c. 3, and c. 42, coming into force 1st September, 1905.

The remainder of the Continental British territory is divided into the Yukon and North West Territories, the districts of Keewatin and Ungava, and Labrador, this last under the care of Newfoundland. Newfoundland had not been officially represented at the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences, but the resolutions of the delegates to the Quebec Conference contained a provision that she might enter the proposed Union, and set out the terms upon which she might do so. The British North America Act made provision for such a proceeding; and there were negotiations of a more or less informal kind looking to her coming into the Dominion. In 1868, terms of Union were arranged with the Government of the Island, but that Government suffered defeat at the polls and the arrangement was not carried out. At least once since that time, representatives from the "Ancient Colony" have come to Ottawa with a view to their country uniting her fortunes with those of the Dominion; but the negotiations proved abortive; and Newfoundland still stands alone.

The Dominion of Canada has thus her nine provinces, all of which have (speaking generally) the same legislative rights and powers.

The Dominion has a Parliament of two Houses, the House of Commons elected by the people in each Province in proportion to the population, an adjustment being made after each decennial census, and a Senate in which each Province has its representatives to a number fixed by statute,—these are appointed for life by the Crown, i.e., the Government of the day. The Dominion Parliament legislates for the whole Dominion, has full jurisdiction over criminal law, customs tariff, and generally everything which would affect the whole Dominion.

The Governor-General, appointed by His Majesty, i.e., by the Administration at Westminster, represents the King; but he is guided, as the King is, by the advice of his constitutional advisers.

The Provinces have (except Quebec and Nova Scotia) only one Chamber in their Legislature—Quebec and Nova Scotia have also Legislative Councils appointed for life by the King, i.e., the local Ministry for the time being.

In each Province is a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Ottawa Administration for a term of years; he represents the King; and the office of Lieutenant-Governor is the only part of the Provincial Constitution which the Province (speaking generally) cannot amend or alter. The Lieutenant-Governor is the head of Society; but like his superior, the Governor-General, he takes no part in politics or legislation.

The legislation of the Provinces is confined to local matters, although these are of enormous importance: all matters of property and civil rights come within the ambit of the jurisdiction of the Provinces.

When the Fathers of the American Revolution came to frame a Constitution for the new nation, they extracted from the British Constitution and from other sources what they conceived to be the true principles of government, and reduced these principles to a written form. The result is a hard and fast limitation of the powers of Executive and Legislature. It is plain, I venture to think, that those who framed the Constitution of the United States had not that perfect trust in the wisdom of their people and their descendants of which we so often hear. It seems to me that the document, magnificent as it is, displays not trust in but distrust of the people—doubt as to their use of their freedom. However that may be, it is certain that there are many constitutional limitations which neither government nor people can transgress. Using the word "constitution" in the sense in which it is used in the United States, the Constitution of Canada may be described by a parody on the famous chapter on the snakes of Ireland—



"There are no snakes in Ireland." Our constitution is not only in theory but also in fact similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom—and there Parliament can do anything that is not naturally impossible,—“It is a fundamental principle with English lawyers that Parliament can do everything but make a woman a man and a man a woman”: and within the limits of subject and area, our Parliament and Legislatures are supreme and have the same authority as the Imperial Parliament itself. The only function of the Courts in this regard is to decide whether the subject legislated upon is within the list of subjects given to the legislating body, and to determine the meaning and application of the enactment.

I have in an article in the *Canadian Monthly*, June, 1910, drawn a comparison between the Constitutions of the two countries, and I do not here pursue the enquiry.

Canada is mistress in her own house: Canadians are subjects not of the people of England but of the King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, who is equally the King of the people of England. How often you hear it said that we are subjects of England! we are nothing of the kind: we are subjects of him who is King of Canada, in the same way that he is King of England, and he is equally King of the English as of the Canadians. We pay no tribute to that King but the tribute of love and well deserved loyalty. We, free, happy and prosperous under that King, do not desire to change our allegiance or our condition for any other on earth. The King unites all the British folk together, and is the bond of union of all the English-speaking peoples except those of the Union to the south of us. We British live in amity and harmony together, and we rejoice to think that for more than a hundred years, spite of troubles neither few nor small, misunderstandings and competition, we have lived without war with our separated brethren of the United States. And we rejoice to know that the nations are growing closer together, each country to live out its own life and work out its own destiny, but each confident at all times of the warmest sympathy and most cordial co-operation of the other.

I conclude by pointing out that throughout our whole history, at least from 1792 two facts stand out prominently, two principles have ever been kept in view.

First, our insistence on British Connection. Ontario, Upper Canada, was settled to a great extent by United Empire Loyalists—with them loyalty was a passion, and it has not been bred out in their descendants. And practically all who came

to this Province participated in the same feeling. We have steadily resisted the suggestion either to go off by ourselves or to join any other nation in allegiance. What Upper Canada did, so did Lower Canada—the heart of the French Canadian is loyal and always has been. True, there have been temporary ebullitions, froth has now and again covered the mighty deep and masked its real condition. But then and now the great mass of French Canadians are true to British Connection as the needle to the pole.

But while we have insisted that the British flag shall be ours, there is another principle we have never lost sight of—we have kept steadfast to this principle in fair weather and in foul—sometimes amidst trouble and misunderstanding, and sometimes even what almost looked like revolt—we have determined to govern ourselves. The Englishman, Scotsman, Irishman, Frenchman, who came out to Canada, could not be made to believe that he had left his brains behind him or that he had forgotten how public affairs should be conducted. He did not believe that those who had not come out but had remained behind, knew more than he. And his descendants do not admit and never have admitted that the descendants of those who remained behind are better than the descendants of those who came to Canada. And Canadians of all kinds have confidence that they are able to govern their own land without interference by any people, British or otherwise. And so we shall remain British, and as British we shall govern ourselves—and we are content.

#### NOTE.

Perhaps the following chronology may be of value—or at least interesting:—

- 1758 First Legislative Assembly in Nova Scotia;
- 1759-60 Conquest of Canada;
- 1760 Military Rule in Canada;
- 1763 Formal Cession of Canada and Royal Proclamation;
- 1769 Prince Edward Island formed into a separate Province, being divided from Nova Scotia;
- 1774 The Quebec Act;
- 1784 First Legislative Assembly in New Brunswick;
- 1791 Constitutional Act;
- 1792 First Legislative Assembly in Upper Canada and in Lower Canada;
- 1832 Legislative Council formed in New Brunswick;
- 1837-38 Rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada;

- 1838 Legislative Council formed in Nova Scotia separate from Executive;
  - 1840 Union Act;
  - 1841 First Canadian Parliament for United Canada;
  - 1848 Responsible Government fully recognized in New Brunswick;
  - 1848 And in Nova Scotia, having been partially recognized in 1840;
  - 1850 Prince Edward Island obtains full responsible government;
  - 1858 British Columbia a Crown Colony;
  - 1866 British Columbia and Vancouver Island united as one Colony;
  - 1867 British North America Act;
  - 1870 Province of Manitoba formed;
  - 1870 N. W. Territories organized with a Lieut.-Governor and small nominated Council;
  - 1871 British Columbia admitted into Dominion;
  - 1873 Prince Edward Island admitted;
  - 1876 Manitoba abolished Legislative Council;
  - 1888 N. W. Territories receive a Legislative Assembly;
  - 1904 Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan formed.
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(November 11th, 1911.)

## The History of Money.

By MR. CHARLES T. CURRELLEY.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club held on November 20th, 1911, Mr. Charles T. Currelley said:

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—It is by no means my object to attempt to set before you in half an hour the subject of the origins of currency. I can, however, shew you a number of examples from the A. E. Ames collection in the new Royal Ontario Museum that will give you a fairly clear idea of the origin and development of several kinds of currency, and the development of a medium of exchange in many countries.

As to words, I suppose we may say that an article of currency becomes a coin when its quality and quantity are guaranteed by a stable government, *i.e.*, the stamped piece of gold first became a coin when the stamp guaranteed the quality and weight of the gold in the piece issued. As far as I know all currencies began on a basis of real values and were estimated in common and useful objects such as a slave girl, an ox, a sheep, a sword, or a spear for the greater values, and certain shells and small ornamental natural objects for the smaller ones. As trade developed these became interchangeable at a definite rate and gradually had something substituted for them that could be transported with as much ease as possible. Four rough divisions can be made:

1. A food value.
2. An ornamental value.
3. A fighting value,  
and recently
4. A trust value.

This last one has developed so much in the last few years that a great financier told me that there was enough currency now in existence to keep the world going for three days, and we have recently had a rather humorous spectacle of what may happen in the United States when the trust currency fails in one small district.

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\*Mr. Charles T. Currelley, Director of the Archæological Museum of the University of Toronto, is one of Canada's best known archæologists. He has made a special study of Egyptian and other Oriental antiquities and is at present engaged in further research work in this field.

Our own currency originated on a cattle basis. Throughout all Europe the chief standard was the ox. In the process of time the love of gold jewellery became so great that the quantity of gold dust that a man could hold in the palm of his hand was equated against the ox. As far as we know, weighing was introduced to estimate the quantity of gold. Seeds were used as the original weights and the amount of gold dust that may be held in a man's palm was placed at 135 grains of barley, or as we would say, grains troy. The grain of wheat was also in use, and 3 grains of barley equalled 4 grains of wheat. In this way we have two systems of weight. It is interesting that we always speak of gold in carats, or karats the name of the Carob bean or seed of St. John's bread tree. Four grains of wheat equals one karat seed.

Thus we see that our currency has passed from a food unit, the ox, to an ornament unit, the gold coin and now to a trust unit, the bank note or the cheque. What these look like you all know much better than I do. I will shew you now the descent of the currency in China where it has been entirely different. Many systems of currency seem to have started in early times, but I shall confine myself to the one which won out, *i.e.*, the origin of the modern cash, the round coin with a square hole in it, that was of such interest to us when we were children.

I have here in my hand a long Chinese peasant sword of very old form. It has a long handle, nearly 3 feet long, a blade not much longer, and a ring at the end of the handle, possibly that it may be hung up against a wall. I next shew you a miniature sword in bronze about 7 inches long. This is in imitation of the real sword and has an inscription on it to say that it is of a certain value. The next stage is shewn by this one, which is much smaller. The blade and handle are cut down, and the ring, which originally was but an accident to the sword, is now important and has the inscription on it. It was much simpler to carry the ring part only, so the blade and handle were left off, and what was once the hole becomes the coin. This is probably the most accidental origin for a great coinage that is known. This transition took place before our era, and we are fortunate to have such an excellent series in Mr. Ames' collection.

Africa provides the largest number of quite primitive pieces of currency. I can shew you now a high unit from the Congo. It is as you see, about five feet long and in the shape of a spear blade, but it is so thin that it is quite useless as a weapon of any kind. The value is the value of the iron plus the work of hammering it into shape, and it is not issued by any govern-

ment but may be made by anyone who has the requisite skill and iron. All of the primitive African currencies are like this. The other spears that you see here are all useless as weapons but retain their original size and form. There is besides the spears a series of knives that have for the most part assumed useless forms, and here the same work and material value is shewn. By an agreement these have often a definite value, for example, this long thin spear blade is equated against a slave girl. Partially made weapons are also shewn. The advantage these have is that in the finishing the man may have his peculiar tribal marks put on in the right places. As an earlier stage again, here I can shew a piece of copper cast into a peculiar form that has a definite value and passes as currency.

The last group that I will trouble you with is the shell and bead currencies. Here are disc beads and cylinder beads where the value of the string per foot is the time required to rub them into shape and the chance of finding the shell. In these the question of rarity plays an important part and wristlets made from shells of unusual size have greatly increased values.

A currency in which the rarity plays a great part is the stone axe currency of New Guinea. Light streaks through the stone cause an axe to become of such value that it is not used but is kept as a precious thing that may be used for exchange.

For small units cowrie shells are used over a very wide area. The value is definite for each locality according to the difficulty of getting them. These and small lengths of braided grass are the smallest units that I know.

I hope that this has not been too fragmentary. It has been impossible to do more than to give a rough sketch, that may serve to attract the attention of any of you who may not be already interested in the history of the common things that we use. You will all agree on the advantage that comes to the man who has an interest in his daily work that is not pecuniary, and those who have not forgotten their Latin will remember that the word "pecuniary interest" when translated literally into Anglo-Saxon means "cattle interest."

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(November 13th, 1911.)

## My Life in India

BY SIR ANDREW FRASER.\*

**A**T a meeting of the Canadian Club held on November 13th, 1911, Sir Andrew Fraser said:—

I want to talk to you about life in India, and I have agreed that the address may be entitled "My Life in India," because in the first place one knows his own life better than he knows the lives of other people, and it is just as well to talk about things that you know as about things that you don't know, and in the second place because the life of an official in India brings one into very close touch with the people of the country, and my desire is not to give you statistics about India, or information that you might get in the Government Blue Books, but rather to communicate to you some impressions which India has left on my own mind after thirty-seven years' work under the Crown in that country.

I suppose one of the things that most impressed me when I went to India, or at all events very soon after, when I began to know something of the life of the people, was that this was no homogeneous people, not one nation, but a number of people gathered together in that country, and even amongst these people there was something that separates them off into sections and groups in a way we don't understand in our own home country. In our own Old Country we feel very much alongside of each other, but in India they are just beginning to get to feel alongside each other at all.

I don't require to talk about caste: you know it has divided the people into sections so that it is difficult to draw them all together. Caste is a great reality. I remember being gazetted to the trial of one civil case: being a barrister, and having passed the necessary examinations, it was supposed that I was quite fit to take up any case. A small case court judge took up a case in which his sweeper was concerned. A sweeper is a man of the lowest caste—some people don't know that he has any caste, but he has. This sweeper had been out-

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\* Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I., was for many years Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in British India. A man of high character and impressive presence, he has taken a foremost part in the promotion of Christian missions and other religious work.

casted, but his people had become more friendly, and had decided to accept a dinner from him, the dinner being a proof before the public and at the same time a solemn approval of the settlement of caste: when the question was raised, it was considered that all was settled and they were amicable if they met together and had dinner,—the whole of the public knew the caste question was settled. Well, when in this case they met together for dinner unfortunately they quarreled again, the whole question came up again, the dinner therefore was not eaten, and the sweeper sued them for the cost of it. A very interesting question arose, and we had to deal with it,—the same as in the home land we are sometimes discussing a clearly ecclesiastical question in the civil courts. I decided that any man is entitled to ask any other man to dinner, and that any other man is entitled to abstain from eating it. I feel safe on that decision. But the point I wish to draw your attention to is this: I had a sweeper there as plaintiff, and about twenty sweepers as witnesses, every witness was a sweeper, my court was full of the people of the lowest caste. The clerk of the court was a Brahman, the constable who stood as orderly and kept the peace behind my back was one too. They thought it would be very instructive to see these people wither before me. But this man kept himself as close to me as possible, though I am not a Brahman, as if to escape from the pollution of contact with these low caste people. One of them had some documents he wanted to hand me, but the officer would not touch them with a pair of tongs, so I had to stretch out my own exalted hand and take them. The constable behind me was crushing himself into the wall, as though he would like it to open and let him out from that awful place. My conduct read him a very clear lesson. It was talked of all over the district. A score of surprised out-cast people gathered in the court room, and while the Judge did not seem to be in the least affected but took things so naturally, the people believed in the Judge that was able to do that thing, believed he was something more than the highest of their own caste, because of the inability of these people to do it. There is no doubt about it, the Christian is independent of caste, and these people begin to think of him as representative of the Father of us all, who binds us together in one bundle. I mention this to show you that caste is a reality. Even with all that the railways and trains have done—for when you get a Brahman and a sweeper making for a third-class carriage, they don't stop to question who is touching whose elbow,—caste is strong. The people of different

castes cannot eat together. The people of different castes cannot intermarry. And when you have people that cannot eat together or intermarry, you understand how distinct and permanent the spirit of caste is. Therefore it is perfectly absurd to talk of an Indian nation till we get rid of caste. No dream is more foolish.

For the discussion of a question which had been considered and sent to me by the Government of India I called together as representative a court as I could: it was composed of landowners, commercial men, both native and European, all representing the different interests of which I was able to obtain any intelligent representatives. Just opposite me sat a member of the National Congress, who claimed the sole right to speak on behalf of the people of India, while next to me was a feudatory chief. These two men were at the opposite poles. The chief had been educated in England, was a loyal, strong supporter of the Government, and a firm, enlightened ruler. When we were talking, the man opposite spoke of a certain view as the "national" view. My friend next me, asked him: "What do you mean by the national view? for we differ in our views." The other replied, that he meant it was the view of the National Congress. "Then call it that," answered the chief, "so we may understand what we mean." Presently the man on the other side of the table again alluded to some view as the "national" one, and the chief leaned across the table, shook his fist in the member's face, and warned him that there was a difference in the views of those present upon that point, adding, "Do you suppose that if the British nation were to withdraw its hand we would not be flying at one another's throats?" I quietly said to my friend, "This is not likely to conduce to the settlement of the question. The chief immediately apologized for his impetuosity. But he was right, although he was not correct in the way he stated the question. But if the British power were removed, the peoples of India would be at one another's throats, and there would be the restoration of that old chaos and disorder. The conclusion is that the British army is necessary there. If we are to discharge our duty to humanity we will have to hold India for a long time to come.

The manner in which we hold it, however, is mainly through the executive service, but every one knows that behind that service is the army. What a splendid machine that army is, I suppose is admitted by all. No part of the British army is so immediately equipped for effective action as the Indian army. But what really holds the people, that which we trust



more than anything else, is simply the body of officers scattered throughout the country, with the British power behind them no doubt, but keeping that in the background, and manifesting to the people only the sympathy and justice of British rule. I have had the pleasure of meeting the Ameer of Afghanistan, a most interesting guest in India, who was present at a review held by Lord Kitchener at Lahore. Lord Kitchener ordered a great charge of cavalry. The whole brigade massed together charged down right at the very place where the Ameer was standing with Lord Kitchener. At the word of command, within a few yards of them, the whole brigade came to a dead stop. The Ameer looked on with great astonishment for a time, and then is reported to have turned around and said in Persian to his military secretary: "What do you mean by telling me that I have the finest army in the world? That man has the finest army in the world. I will have a talk with you about that afterwards."

When down in Calcutta a visiting high native official was walking with me one day, he said, "What a splendid army you have!" I said, "Yes." "One thing strikes me," he said, "more than anything else: you never, hardly, see a soldier anywhere throughout the country. You don't keep the peace by your soldiers walking about in uniform." "No," I replied, "the peace keeps itself." That strikes the observer with wonder: throughout the whole of India what one sees is a peaceful life, as peaceful and law-abiding as the life of any country in the world. Now, what is it that does that? Who is it that achieves that? I think I may no doubt safely say, the collector of the district, the magistrate. It is many, many years since I ceased to be a collector. I was a collector once; since then I was a Commissioner, with seven collectors under me; since then I went into the Government of India; and since that I have been the Governor of two different provinces. But having been a collector myself, and a commissioner with collectors under me, I understood something of the collector's work. But when I went out first, a man taught me the duties I would have to perform, and from him I learned first of all this, that the great duty of the officer is to know the people. Opportunities are given him for this: the government provides for the officers touring the country, tents are given you, you go without any great pomp or circumstance, doing all you can to prevent being a burden to the people, paying your way, pitching your tent here to-day, and ten miles farther on to-morrow. You see the people in their own fields, talking to them in their houses, learning their desires, bringing

the Government into contact with them in respect of everything that concerns them. You learn to talk with them in the vernacular around your own camp fire, making them know about that little island you never forget, its traditions, the hopes it has, its great ideals. You have to go about in this way, to prepare yourself to discharge your duties as collector. Who is the collector of the district? I have spoken of him as a collector and magistrate. You know also that the magistrate of a district is far more than a magistrate, for he is the pivot of the administration. The reason is, he is the head of the district, which has an area of anything from four to fifteen thousand square miles, a very considerable area: he is the head of the district for every department of Government work. He is not a Forest Officer; the Forest Officer is an expert, who is his assisting adviser. He is not one of the police; they have their own department; but he is the head of the police, and they take their orders from him. He is not a surgeon or a doctor; but he is the head sanitary officer. He is the head of education in the district; the inspectors have to consult him, and the masters are always looking out for a visit from him, so that their influence may be increased, and the people may be induced to send their children to their schools. In all these things the collector is the head of the district.

But he is something more than that,—the most important of all: he is the agent of the great land owner. The State is the land owner, except in those certain few districts of Bengal where Lord Cornwallis instituted a permanent settlement, and gave proprietary rights to those who had been only collectors of the revenue. Except in those districts the collector is the land agent, and ever since the Government inherited that great inheritance and became the land owner, there has been before the company and the governors in Queen Victoria's time, the aim and purpose to devise a system of land administration which is equitable, reasonable, sympathetic,—in short, to be to all the people of India what a good landlord is in the Old Country to his tenants. It may be worth while mentioning that in every case where the Government of Great Britain has had to deal with a land question affecting India, an Indian officer has always been sent over, that the responsible people at home might consult with him. And when land questions affecting Ireland were up for consideration, several Indian officers were called to help in the details of settlement even in old Ireland. India has shown the world a government that is sane, righteous, sympathetic, in its land revenue administration, which, after all, the people of India most

require. For they are an agricultural people, not living to any great extent in cities; there are only twenty-eight large cities. Out of three hundred million inhabitants only seven million live in cities, a ratio of one in fifty, instead of one in three, as it is in some countries.

When you think of the collector of the district as being the administrator and head of the district in every department, and representing the great land owner, you understand what power he has. We were trained by years of experience in understanding the people in the languages of the districts, learning their history, their social life, through their municipal boards, associated with the district councils, through years of work at great sacrifice, before we were allowed to occupy the position, so we came to have a sense of responsibility, and learned the great principles we had to apply, and to apply these principles in an intelligent and sympathetic appreciation of the difficulties and circumstances of the people. And this, I believe, is the essence of the success of British rule in India.

The collector of the district is not often interfered with. The commissioner over seven collectors, while outside of their rank, is not appointed to keep a strict watch over them, but for his supposed capacity for getting men to do the work without friction or great show of his hand. The details of their work he is expected to show them, and to do that by travelling about with them, keeping in touch with them, not by public interference with them or censuring them, and to preserve their interests, not the interest of the magistrate, but the interests of the people, against all difficulties and dangers with which they in their simple agricultural life have to fight. He is the friend of the people: any collector who should forget that must have had a curious experience, or forget the very best part of his own life.

Just in the same way we expect the head of the Government to act toward the commissioner, as we look to the commissioner to act towards his seven collectors. So the Secretary of State is supposed to stand in the same relation to the Government of India. It is not a good thing to interfere: it is likely to make mischief and friction in an Oriental Government. If any particular man is not fit to be trusted, he should be removed; but if a man is fit to put in, the first essential is that he be thoroughly trustworthy; such men are to be obtained.

We go about among the people, and we find them very lovable. They are simple, truthful, kindly, hospitable, patient. You say "truthful? We thought that if there was one thing



that was established, it was that the Oriental is distinctly a liar." I will let you into a secret. I have not the slightest doubt that if you get a native of India into the court you get a man who nine hundred and ninety-nine times out of a thousand will tell you at least one lie in the course of his admissions. But I would not like the reputation of a Scotchman or an Irishman (I specially mention the Scotchman first, because I am most interested in his reputation) to depend upon the reputation those who attend the courts have for strict accuracy, thoroughly sound memory, or distinct desire to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But though I should not like the reputation of a Scotchman, for instance, to depend upon the reputation some of that race may have in the courts, it is far more important not to depend upon the reputation of an Indian in the courts in judging of his character in general. The Indian believes in that proverb, "All things are fair in love and war," and he probably thinks—I hope we don't—that the very worst form of war is litigation. Therefore, he thinks that if you expect a man to tell the truth when it does not advantage his case, you are a very silly person to expect it. But if you come down into the village, and investigate a question in the presence of the villagers, the villagers won't tolerate a liar, any more than you would tolerate a lying brother in your house. For the life of the village is a family life, so they won't tolerate the liar. You see, the two things are as the poles asunder. In the court the Indian is an absolutely accomplished liar, but when he gets out of the way of law, in ordinary life he is absolutely truthful. Therefore you find people come from a collector, who see the Indians only in the courts, saying they are not to be trusted. But a man like me, who has lived among them for thirty out of thirty-seven years I have spent in the service of the Crown in India, will trust them anywhere. They are as honest as any man that we meet.

And they are kindly,—in one thing perhaps too kindly. They want to have you pass through life without the slightest friction, without turning a hair on your body. Let me tell you a story. I went on a visit to a college on the Hoogli river, at Nawa Dwip, or "New Island,"—they called it that three thousand years ago!—a college in which they taught Sanskrit, in which all the priests of Bengal are educated for their work. The priests came down to us clothed in white, the scholars also, and met me, and escorted me up to the college. They treated me very much as they would treat one of their own Rajahs, addressing me in Sanskrit, and receiving me with

praises of my power that made it essential for me to keep sponging it all out if I were to remain at all modest. The college is a beautiful old place, just such as one reads about in holy books. There was the sacred tree, with a little idol under it, and in the corridor the sacred tulsi plant. The students had their palmleaf books, and with no paper or printing, they would write on the palm leaves with a stylus, rubbing over it some hard substance that left the letters black,—the same old books, the same kind of philosophy as they studied three thousand years ago. They told me they heard strange sounds from the outer world, news of anarchy and sedition; they could scarcely believe it. They asked me if I would accept a degree from the college, and they gave it to me with the same kind of reverence that they would to one of their Rajahs with their civilization of three thousand years ago. The decree was written on a palmleaf, and it signifies "The Ocean of Logic and Truth." I carried it away, and now, in these days of my abasement, while laid here as it were upon a solitary shelf all by myself, I sometimes take it out, and think of what I once was! So these people have been able to send me away from my work with pleasant memories of my work with them.

There is unrest in India. I am glad of it! We have been trying to wake these people from their sleep of a thousand years. Education is beginning to do this work. All the people of India are beginning to press forward in civilization and enlightenment. There is nothing to regret. We earnestly trust that the people will press forward on the path of improvement and advance.

Associated with this there is a certain amount of sedition and anarchy, but it is very small and circumscribed. It is perfectly possible for a man to do mischief, and for a dozen of them, if they have made up their minds they will give their lives for the taking of a few lives. But it is strictly circumscribed: the vast majority of the people are loyal, all the people with stake in the country are entirely loyal; all the people in whom we can place our confidence, the Rajahs ruling over independent states, all the merchants, the land owners, those interested in the real prosperity of India, are loyal as far as their intelligence enables them to be. There are only a few who think they can make money by stirring up trouble. It is only a few hare-brained, half-educated young men, on whom the whole responsibility falls, and upon whom also unfortunately too often the punishment falls.

A story will illustrate this, which pertains to a section which was in a peculiar state of unrest and anarchy. On the 7th of October, 1908, I presided at a lecture by a Chicago professor on "Education in America." The professor had not arrived when I reached the hall, his carriage having, as we afterwards learned, broken down. I was speaking to the president of the association, when a young fellow stepped forward. The Maharajah of Bengal was with me, the highest Hindu nobleman. This young man, who had been seated near the door, came forward as if to speak to me. I asked him what he wished, and as I spoke I heard a click, and looking down saw a revolver thrust out from under his coat. The cartridge failed to explode—the Ordnance Department officials said it was one chance in ten thousand. Just as I was about to take measures—I hope for my own defence—the arm of the Maharajah, who stood between me and the assassin, was thrown around me, and he threw me out of the room, placing himself between me and my would-be assailant, while at the same time the American secretary of the association seized the hand of the assassin, and the hammer of the weapon, as the trigger was pulled again, came down on the web of flesh between his thumb and forefinger. He didn't let go of the weapon, till the young fellow was knocked down by the students, and handed over to the police.

(Sir Andrew did not tell the whole story here, in his modesty, but Mr. G. Sherwood Eddy, General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. for India, told the rest of it at the Laymen's Missionary movement banquet in the evening at St. James' Square Presbyterian Church, as he had told it a few weeks ago at a small gathering in the home of Mr. E. R. Wood. A number of Sir Andrew's friends had sought to dissuade him from going into the room at the first, saying the students were seething with sedition, but Sir Andrew replied: "Why! I am a Britisher; I'd rather die than be a coward! I'm going in there to preside at this meeting.")

That is a true picture of the state of things in India. That young man was ready to take life to encourage Bengal by showing that even the Lieutenant-Governor was vulnerable and mortal. On my way home from the meeting, at every street lamp, where the people could see me, they gathered to look at me. That young man of twenty-eight, and the nobleman of Bengal, with great fortune, great ambitions, and his whole future before him, feeling he could give his life, offered it deliberately for me, because I was his governor and his friend. If it were for his father, it would be a splendid act of



filial devotion; but for me, of another race—I cannot find language to describe it! It proves indisputably that in their hearts they have love for the British Crown, as one could see if the British Government were turned out of India. When a man has a memory like that at the back of his mind, it is absolutely impossible to fasten the blame of such deeds as you hear of sometimes upon the whole people.

The King has gone to visit India. The visit of the King will give great gladness to his subjects there. The King has taken account, we believe, of the fact that there may be perils in his way—but I don't feel myself that there will be anywhere less than there—you don't know where some half-brained fanatic will vent his blood—even in the United States they have lost three presidents, but nothing of the kind has taken place in India. It is possible for a few to work great mischief, but the officers of the British Crown will not tolerate separation from the people, or anything which might hinder their getting into sympathy with them, while taking the severest measures against sedition and anarchy, not in the interests of the Government but of the people. I rejoice to know we serve a King who with full knowledge of all it means is going—as a splendid example to the officers who serve him, to bring gladness to the hearts of the vast millions in that country who are devoted to him and to his country.

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(November 27th, 1911.)

## Prince Edward Island.

BY DR. ANDREW MACPHAIL.\*

AT a meeting of the Canadian Club held on Nov. 27th, 1911, Dr. Macphail said:—

I beg of you to believe that I am not insensible to the high privilege of addressing so important an audience as the Canadian Club of Toronto, composed as it is of several hundred business men and tintured with a remnant from the University, the law, the church, and other professions,—so different from my more customary audiences of students looking up and hungering to be fed. And yet, when I see so many business men here present I am disposed to think that you cannot be so busy as you pretend to be, and that you are willing to have an occasional respite from your queer trade of making money. For I suppose that not all of you engage in business for sheer love of it as the lawyers take to the law, ministers to the church, and professors to their chairs.

It would indicate an excess of confidence on my part if I were to assume that so many and so important persons came here for the main purpose of hearing me speak. I do not underestimate the attracting power which there is in the hope of a good luncheon. But if, on the other hand, any considerable number of you should feel disposed to exercise that privilege inalienable from auditors of going to sleep, I shall be free to divide the responsibility between the gentleman who has provided the luncheon and myself who am to provide the speech. I hasten to add that all other purveyors of refreshment will obviously be blameless upon this occasion at least, a testimony which I am glad to give on behalf of an oft-maligned class of business men.

My commission, as I understand it, is to give the first of a series of addresses upon the nine provinces of Canada, a series undertaken to enlarge your knowledge of the country in which you live. This zeal for knowledge, in a place where it

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is not commonly looked for, is most commendable, as it indicates a growing belief in your minds that Ontario which is a part is not greater than the whole. I commend you also for having begun at the east with the province of Prince Edward Island, and I congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, upon the excellent choice of speaker which you have made. No one could speak with such fulness of knowledge, and none with a wider sympathy than I can, for the Hillsborough and the Orwell, rivers of the Island, are more precious to me than all the waters of Canada. As the Palmist said of another famous place, "I was born therein," and the dust of which we are is the dust of the place in which we were born.

Also I was educated there, according to a system which none of you would understand; and we ourselves have nearly lost the memory of it. We heard that you in Ontario had a wonderful system which had been let down from heaven and was delivered to the people by the hand of Dr. Egerton Ryerson,—one of your own has said it. A year ago we sent a Commission to study that system. A report was issued at a cost of thirty-six hundred dollars, but I am glad to say the matter has gone no further, because we have a vague feeling that the best system of education is worse than no system at all. Education, like religion, is an inner experience, and the more you organize religion and education the less of the spirit remains. Also, like religion, education has been found useful for "getting on in the world"; and that is the genesis of the twin vices of religious hypocrisy and educational veneer.

Of course I do not mean that there were no schools in those days. There were plenty of them and much education of a kind which must seem very queer to those of you who have had no experience of an education which was designed solely for its effect upon the character of the pupil.

I have in mind such a school, which was based upon the theory that it was the master and not the system which made the school. We called him "master" because he was master, not "teacher," because teaching was the last thing he thought of doing. He had no appliances to make study amusing or interesting. His only piece of apparatus was a short stick of good grain and sound heart, or a dichotomous piece of leather properly tempered by smoke and fire. To temper this instrument was considered as necessary an accomplishment as the mending of a pen. A master who could not manufacture his tools was as ill considered as a blacksmith who should forge an ax which would not hold its edge.



In those days there were very few professors, but there were plenty of schoolmasters, which is in singular contrast with the present state of affairs, when the universities are crowded with professors who hold classes for two hours a day, five days in the week for five months in the year, and the schools are left to the tenderness and mercy of immature girls and celibate women. To be a professor was easy. To be a good schoolmaster was given to few. The breed appears to be nearly extinct. How they were created no one knows. Possibly they were professors who were spoiled in the making by developing too fine and hard a temper. Occasionally they were scholars who had fallen from their high estate by some infirmity of the flesh, but they were extremely competent to exorcise folly from the young especially at times when remorse for their own infirmity was strong upon them.

The principle upon which this old master proceeded was that all boys could be improved by being confined in a school-house. All could learn obedience just as the most ferocious animal could be reduced to submission, if only the penalty for obstinacy, sullenness, or disorder were made heavy enough. But by anything which could be learned from books only the few were expected to profit. Education was free, that is free to all who had the resolution to seize upon it and make it their own. Like the kingdom of Heaven it must be taken by violence. It was free in the same way as the elements are free in the soil, the fish in the sea, and precious metals in the earth,—free only to those who are willing to endure the toil of making them their own.

To cajole, or even to force, an unwilling or incapable boy to learn from books, was considered a piece of stupid outrage upon the boy and a waste of the master's time. His business was to maintain order, enforce discipline, and exact obedience, to create an atmosphere favorable to the development of the mind in those who had minds to develop. The only escape from this rigid discipline was into the realms of fancy, and those who were unable to rise to those heights were forced out into the world again and quickly found their place as craftsmen and as toilers upon the land or upon the sea. After the hateful tasks of the schools, the severest bodily labor on farm or in the workshop was regarded as the highest luxury by all but the few who in some way, perhaps on account of laziness, had become infected with the desire for learning. Upon these few this old master would lavish his affection and learning. No pearls were too precious and no solicitude too laborious. After having been duly punished for such gross

vices as lying and fighting, these chosen few were reserved for the precious privilege of being whipped for pronouncing a Latin word with a false quantity. That was a distinction to which none but the few could aspire.

And yet I have seen upon those rude benches boys of thirteen who had mastered the six books of Euclid, and were not insensible to the wide humanity of Horace. How it came about also that a year later they were reading the Gospels in Greek, it would be difficult for me to explain or to make understood. I think that the success of this school was due to the master's belief that education should serve no practical end, and that the moment it strove to be useful it became useless for any purpose whatever; that the end and aim of his ambition was the training of taste and the development of character. He was also quite clear upon this, that he could do nothing for a boy who had no mind. He could not do more for him than God had done. With the making of craftsmen he had nothing to do: he was concerned merely with the making of men.

At any rate all persons agree that your present system of education is unsatisfactory, and the remedy which is proposed is, that more money shall be spent upon it. I am disposed to think that the people pay very handsomely for what they get, or are likely to get. Although the people of Prince Edward Island devote one-third of their revenue to purposes of education, they pay less than any other community in Canada. I consider this a mark of their intelligence since they appraise most correctly the value of what they are getting.

Also, we had amongst us in those days, a spirit of religion, and a Church sufficiently organized to give it a refuge. Most of us, as you may be aware, came from Scotland, and were not likely to underestimate the value of the ministry, and yet the Church in which I had the privilege of being brought up was without the services of a minister for fourteen years, because, try as we might, we could not find one to suit us. We were not, however, entirely deprived of the ordinances, because we had elders who made their own hymns, and developed a fine liturgy, because, as you are aware, one of the peculiarities of the Scottish race is that amidst all its hardships and deprivations, it has never been deprived of the gift of extempore prayer.

Also in those days we created an organized industry. We made our own machinery, wove our own cloths, built churches, houses, and schools, without a vestige of help from the outside world. Without appliances, without advice, we worked

out a complete system of civilization. Any well brought up woman who was in possession of some flax-seed and a sheep could, in the course of time, elaborate a suit of clothes and white shirt, which appeared to me at that time to be much more handsome than any I see before me to-day. But in my own lifetime I have seen all this pass away. Older persons who are yet living saw the beginning of it. They have indeed witnessed the whole history of the human race.

Bear with me whilst I give you a few figures in proof of what I say. In the year 1871 the population of Prince Edward Island was 94,000 persons; in 1881 it had risen to 108,000; in 1891 it rose to 109,000 and then began to decline. In ten years it fell to 103,000; and by the last census which, so far as it deals with that province, I believe is correct, the population is given as 93,000. That is to say there are fewer persons there than there were forty years ago. Let me put the facts in another way. By actuarial estimate taking account of the natural increase,—and the fertility of the individual family is greater than in any other part of Canada, not even excluding Quebec,—the population should be 165,000. Accordingly there is a deficiency of 72,000 persons. It would not be so depressing if we were sure that this flower of the flock was migrating to other parts of Canada for the up-building of a nation, but unfortunately this is not the case. By a careful calculation Inspector McCormac has demonstrated that, in a series of school districts which are under his care, 88 per cent. of these emigrants have found homes in the United States.

A new light has dawned upon the people. They have discovered that political affairs are managed not primarily in the interests of the people but in the interests of the politicians themselves, and this observation is not confined to Prince Edward Island alone. For several years government by party has come to a state of vicious perfection. The system works well if one party is strong enough, and the other is weak enough, but unfortunately both the parties are so strong that government, which at first was difficult, soon became impossible. Originally we had all the paraphernalia of an Imperial Government, namely, a Lieutenant-Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Assembly. Within recent years these two Houses were incorporated in one which contained thirty members. For several years there have been sixteen persons on one side, and fourteen on the other. When a speaker was chosen, the government had a majority of one. Two bye-elections have just been held with a curious result, that the people who called themselves Conservatives now hold fifteen



seats. The persons who called themselves Liberals hold fourteen seats; and there is one independent member which makes up the thirty. Government under such circumstances is impossible, and I hear that a general election is shortly to be held. This independent member,—but it would not be in good taste if I spoke of him too particularly,—met with such extraordinary support in the bye-election that people are beginning to ask themselves if it would not be well to make an extension of the principle. During the course of what the politicians call a campaign, this independent candidate urged the people to end the divorce between politics and business, and take the management of their own affairs into their own hands, and to have, instead of ministers of politics, ministers of industry, because the province had been too long blighted by a political system which became all the more rigid because it was intertwined with Dominion politics. With a new and strong government—whether Liberal or Conservative, it is immaterial which if they do not put partizanship before duty—the situation must be faced.

The first business of a community is to discover the situation in which it finds itself, and then proceed to adapt itself to its environment. The early settlers in Prince Edward Island understood their situation perfectly and knew how to profit by it. They found themselves in possession of the most fertile part of the earth's surface and a climate above it, which permitted that fertility to come to its full fruition. They cleared away the forests and tilled the soil. They sent their products into all the markets of the world in ships hewn out of their own timber, and brought back in those same ships such goods as they required, bought in the best markets of the world, and admitted for consumption at a rate of duty which was less than one per cent. in advance of that which is charged in England to-day. As a result of this adjustment to environment the population increased from three thousand at the beginning of the century to 108,000 in eighty years. With this rapid increase of a sound and homogeneous native population social life became organized. Schools and churches reflected the general prosperity by a generous education and a profound religious life.

But about that time something happened. That was the Confederation of the Canadian Colonies, under which the people of Prince Edward Island handed over the power of taxing themselves to others whose interest was that they should be taxed as heavily as possible. This new power immediately utilized the opportunity by increasing the customs duties from

five to nineteen per cent. First it prevented the people from buying in the markets of the world. As a result it prevented them from selling in the markets of the world, and the ruin was completed by a chain of other evils.

Part of this money which was collected as customs duties was returned as subsidies and for the construction of public works; but these amounts were expended not for the purpose for which they were intended but to entrench one government or another in power. When the people saw that the taxes which they paid were used to construct wharves on dry land, to build breakwaters where there were no harbours, and light-houses for the guidance of ships which never came, then they knew their money was being used for their own corruption.

Transportation with the upper Canadian provinces was slow and expensive. Rates upon goods bound westward were higher than upon goods going to the east. It was hard enough to buy: it was impossible to sell. To this day there is no competition in railway or steamship rates. The railway service is in the hands of a monopoly, the worst of all monopolies, namely, the government, since whatever business a government does it does badly. At the present moment it costs 26 cents a hundred pounds to carry freight from a mid-Island point to Sydney, a distance of 300 miles, whilst it costs 16 cents a hundred pounds to carry the same class of freight from Montreal to Sydney, a distance three times as great.

Instead of facing the situation as it existed the people indulged in vain dreams of the day when they could again trade with the States, and convey their products to the mainland through a hole under the sea. Now that dream is at an end, for the present at least. The people of Ontario decreed on September 21st that this tunnel, even if it were built, should be merely a horizontal hole in the ground with its ends in a field.

What now is the remedy? The remedy lies in accepting the situation instantly and profiting by it until a new situation can be created, by applying to that part of Canada the protective system which is declared to be so good for the whole, by refusing to buy from the other provinces of Canada any commodity which can be produced at home by cultivating the home market.

For forty years the people of the Island have pushed to an extreme the economic doctrine of exporting their finished product, namely, their sons and daughters. The time has now come to keep them at home by employing them in the manufacture of those articles which are now purchased abroad.

And these goods are to be made not in factories but in the homes, not in cities by machines but in the villages by hard work.

The machine-myth is at an end. Men long ago realized that the factory is a curse socially and politically. They are now coming to understand that economically it is a failure as well, since factory-made goods in spite of their apparent cheapness are the dearest in the end. None but the very poorest amongst the people can afford to buy the product. People of means never use articles which are made in a factory, because they cost too dear by reason of their very cheapness and consequent rottenness.

A factory is based upon co-operation, that is by the co-operation of a few to reduce their employees to a condition which has many evils from which a system of frank slavery was free. It is a perfectly easy matter to seize upon the benefits of co-operation and apply them to hand workers in their own homes. The extension of industries depends upon capital, and in Prince Edward Island there is abundance of that. In the banks there are seven million dollars on deposit at three per cent. This money is sent to Montreal and Toronto where it earns six, and is used for financing those combines which in turn are used for exploiting the very owners of the money.

The first thing then that is required is a system of co-operative banking, by which a man who has saved a few dollars will lend them to his neighbor on the guarantee of the community in which they both live. There is nothing new in this principle. It is a strict application of the methods of all public finance. If the local carpenter; shoe, harness, carriage, or furniture maker, blacksmith, weaver, miller, or farmer, had access to even a small amount of capital, to purchase stock and pay apprentices and employees, he could compete on more than equal terms with the largest manufacturer who must pay enormous city rentals, taxes, and salaries, and provide in addition dividends upon his grossly watered capital. He would provide gainful employment and keep his supply of goods up to the demand. The reason why people buy ready-made articles is just because they are ready. They would buy hand made articles just as quickly if they could be procured, and the cost of transportation would be largely eliminated.

But most of all is co-operation required among farmers. It is twice blessed. It ensures quality and a fair and uniform price from year to year. Farmers only succeed when their crops are sold before they are sown. Then they work with a



certainly of profit and they have a standard of attainment ever before their eyes. Few farmers can afford to experiment with new crops. They have not the time, and they have too much sense to assume the risk. In a community where all are certain to receive the profit each member is willing to share in the cost of the experiment. For lack of transportation, through the habit of looking to the government which takes all the taxes and returns only a part, through the uncertainty of prices, and through the dishonesty of some in marketing produce of an inferior quality the farmers of Prince Edward Island have suffered as a whole. They can solve all difficulties of transportation by not using it, that is, by making for themselves what they now import. They will produce products which are uniformly good, when all guarantee the quality and penalize those who persist in lowering the grade.

Many crops must be abandoned and others introduced. Of this I shall cite only one or two instances. One is tobacco. Every year there is imported into Prince Edward Island tobacco at a cost of two hundred thousand dollars from Ontario and Quebec, when it can be produced as cheaply and as good at home. With a little instruction and enthusiasm this industry alone would stay the outflowing tide of population. No country in the world is more favorably situated for the growth of strawberries. They ripen at a season of the year when all other supplies are exhausted. A few farmers are making a profit of three hundred dollars an acre; and yet if one purchases a bottle of strawberry jam in a shop he will find that it was manufactured in England. The same experience holds true for all other small fruits.

At the moment there is a cry all over the world for hand-made articles of daily use from those who are tired of the rottenness and barbarity of the product of the factories. The remotest regions are reached for honest cloth, leather, and furniture. All these things, along with the choicest foods can be produced in Prince Edward Island, and if the present depopulation is allowed to continue it will be due to the grossest neglect upon the part of the government and of the people themselves.

It was of the history of Prince Edward Island I was to speak to you, and I have by no means forgotten my subject. There is a theory of history of which my friend, Professor Wrong, is an exponent, that the life of the people is the chief material of a historian. In any case that is all the history we have. We have no records of wars and massacres; we have nothing to compare with Queenston Heights and Lundy's

Lane. Charlottetown was never burned to the ground as Toronto was. We cannot boast even of a rebellion or of an "Orange riot."

I do not think you would be much interested if I were to discuss whether it was Jacques Cartier, or Stephen Gomez, or John Cabot who first saw those lovely shores, but certainly Cartier has left it upon record that he sailed by an island covered with trees which was the loveliest a man ever set his eyes upon. This enchanted land by inference could only have been Prince Edward Island. There is one fact, however, in which you might be interested. This is the only place in the new world which ever enjoyed the advantages of a complete feudal system. The Island was divided into sixty-seven townships, and persons who had claims upon the English court—some of them not of the best possible validity—were allowed to draw lots and thereby become owners of a township. There were, of course, certain obligations attached. A number of persons had to be settled upon the land and a quit rental paid from year to year. This system lasted until 1867 when compulsory purchase was introduced by means of a sum of money advanced by the Imperial treasury.

For about ten years Prince Edward Island suffered the humiliation of being annexed to Nova Scotia, but its most serious history dates from 1758, the year in which Louisburg fell. By the Treaty of 1763 this province was transferred from the French and became the centre of the trading posts in the Maritime Provinces. Even at that time the ship-building industry had made it famous. For many years the inhabitants were a sea-faring people, and there were few families in which a ship-master was not included on the roll. Even in my remembrance these men would come home from foreign parts bringing strange animals, wearing strange clothes, all of which gave to the country an extremely interesting character. Many of these relics still remain, but they are disappearing fast. By means of the ship-building industry in the Maritime Provinces Canada obtained the fourth place in the world in respect to shipping, but within the last forty years it has declined to the eleventh place.

I have one further admission to make. Prince Edward Island is not in superficial area the largest of the provinces, although you might think it was if you took account of the number and intelligence of the people who have issued from it. I have persuaded many people of its fertility and its beauty, but I cannot persuade even myself of its great size.

Some humorist has just handed me a card on which the enquiry is written, "What about the oysters?" Without being drawn aside from my main theme I shall take time to say that this industry will not escape attention; and if in future you should have to pay more for oysters than you do now, you can comfort yourselves by reflecting upon the days when you did not pay enough. Our trouble in the past has been that the government held power by so frail a tenure that they were unable to enforce proper regulations lest they might lose a few votes. The people are strongly in favor of closing the beds against indiscriminate fishing, since those who live in the vicinity can always get enough for their own use. The Orwell river, for example, has been closed,—that is where I live,—and, as a neighbor said to me, "that will keep off foreigners from Pictou, yes, and from Murray Harbor too." You will understand that Pictou is in Nova Scotia; but you will hardly know that Murray Harbor is a place not more than twenty miles away. The *genius loci* is strong amongst us.

I am not here to expose our minor difficulties or to relate the sorrows which have come to us by reason of our failing population. There is a fundamental law of nature that amongst a people which is failing numerically the individuals themselves deteriorate. Therein is the sadness, the tragedy of it. And it is not as if this depopulation were of the country districts only, the same as in Ontario; here they are going to your cities; but with us the one city is declining in population quite as fast as the country is. Now the fact we have to face as Canadians is, that we cannot live by cities alone; if the country districts decay, the whole of Canada is bound to decay as well.

If we are troubled about our own census returns, you may well be troubled about the census returns as they apply to Canada. You have heard so much bombast about our progress that you cannot believe the truth; and the truth is that we are not holding our native population. In the last ten years 1,700,000 emigrants have come into the country, and that is about the increase which the census shows. I ask you where have our own native-born gone. I ask you also, what will it profit a people if they gain the whole world and lose their own sons.

Our fiscal policy for the last thirty years has favored the cities at the expense of the country; but I think I see signs of the end. Men are getting tired of noise and machinery, tired of living the life of parasites and pamperers. They are spending more time in the country, and in the summer the



cities are deserted by all who have means enough or sense enough to get away.

I am sure that many persons here present were born in the country. You can do much for those who still live there and more for yourselves. I adjure you then to do something for the country districts, because if it is not well with them it cannot be well with Canada as a whole. I give you my thanks for this patient hearing, and I congratulate myself that none of you have found it necessary to avail yourselves of that inalienable privilege which I mentioned in the beginning,—a very long time ago as it must seem.

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(December 6th, 1911.)

## Science, Philosophy and Religion.

BY REV. FATHER VAUGHAN.\*

AT a meeting of the Canadian Club on Wednesday, December 6th, 1911, Rev. Father Bernard Vaughan, S.J., said:—

*Mr. President and Brothers,*—I have followed rather too closely upon the footsteps of His Royal Highness, Field Marshal the Duke of Connaught. I feel that he has gone away carrying with him your hearts, but I am here to ask for your ears, that you may drink in a little message from so weak a member as myself. England, that dear, dear land, set in the silver sea, England has shown her appreciation and love of her gifted daughter of destiny, even Canada, by sending out to you as the King's direct and immediate representative one so near and dear to the Throne as the Duke of Connaught. He and his charming spouse, the Duchess, have won for themselves by their splendid output of domestic and social virtues a very warm spot in the heart of the nation. And, at no little sacrifice, the King and his people allowed them to come out here that Canada might be assured that we are all closely pressed around our flag, true to King and to country.

England's loss has been Canada's gain, and, dear brothers, it is a proud moment for me to be here to find such a splendid response to the King's act of graciousness, because you have all given to his representative so loyal, so enthusiastic a greeting. I shall make it my business to let them know on the other side what you think of him and of her who stand as links between us.

To-day, meeting so many brother men, I feel quite inspired. It is something glorious to me to meet men, who I know even if they agree not with me, will give me credit for serving up to them what I do, something hot off the hub of my heart.

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\*Rev. Father Bernard Vaughan is an eloquent and world-renowned member of the Society of Jesus. He comes of a brilliant Old Country family and is one of the most powerful preachers of the Roman Catholic Church in England. He has long been a devoted worker among the poor in the East-End of London, his sermons against the Sins of Society have attracted wide attention, and he is the author of several religious works.

I am going to speak a few words to you about a triple alliance, of no political arena, but the triple alliance in the human heart, that triple alliance, which, like the triple chord, is not easily broken, and I have taken this for my theme, not because I have any reason at all, thank God, for supposing you stand in need of an exhortation to reverence this triple alliance, but because, looking out from the broad platform of life upon my fellowman and woman, throughout the vast dominions of our Empire, I feel that this triple alliance is being tested and strained, by some who ought to know better, almost to snapping point. A word of warning, a flash-light sweeping over the sea of life may be of use, may warn you against those false lights which men put up in darkness to lure you to destruction.

I say that Science, Philosophy and Religion are three out-standing figures linked hand in hand, and I question Science and ask her to tell me something belonging to her dominion and not to go out of it. It is when the so-called scientist passes out of his own realm that I am a little fearful about him. We live in an age, gentlemen, when nobody is allowed to say he doesn't know, and when some great question of theology is mooted, there is always a Marie Corelli or a Hall Caine to solve the question. Now, what does Science tell me about this life. Science has no business to go beyond phenomena. To investigate causes belongs to Philosophy. Science looks to phenomena and to laws generalized from it, and Science tells me that this puny, petty planet set in this vast archipelago, was once a ball of fire, tossed off a ball of fire larger still, that as it gyrated around the bigger ball, rotating on its own axis, it gradually cooled and settled down into a thing called this planet and became then beautiful, having spun and woven for itself a coat like Joseph's of many colors, and the prevailing color, I am glad to say, red. (Applause.) I am glad to see you are well enough read to accept that.

Now Science has finished her job; she can retire, and the Philosopher may come forward, and I will ask him: "Sir, it is your province to investigate causes, I want to know who set this ball spinning? Who is the Prime Mover of the prime thing moved?" He will tell me that he accepts phenomena, and that the thing Life must have been started by Someone having the power to move it. And, when he says so, out comes Religion, takes the hand of Science and of Philosophy, and exclaims: "Aye, it is true, in the beginning God created Heaven and Earth." and the two, if they are normal will say, "Be it so, be it so. Amen, amen."



None of us are in fear of first-class scientists or philosophers. Give me your Newton, and your Farraday, and your Pasteur, and your Kelvin, and I will tell you Religion is safe. It is these second-rate people who are always starting up treating God as though he were some constitutional monarch dependent upon a plebiscite of the Empire, and telling him exactly what he may be and what he may not.

Gentlemen, I have much to say, but I keep my eye upon this watch, which was given me. I have great faith in the watch, but I am sorry to say that it is without good works. (Laughter.)

Well, gentlemen, I, once again, want to know things, because I find we are made up of mind, of heart and of will, mind the seat of knowledge, heart the seat of love, will the seat of action, and thus these three forces result in one strong force—the man who wants to know and to get to the bottom of things. I ask Science: "Can you tell me about life?" and if Science then is normal and has not lost her head, she will say: "I know little about life; I can label it with many names, but I know no more about initial life than I do about the primitive nebulae, and that is just as much as you know—nothing at all." But Science will tell me that there was a time when this little planet tossed round and round in its feverish excitement, with a temperature so high that it could tolerate no life at all upon its bosom. But life appeared—whence came it? Philosophy has to come forward and to say. "Well, all scientific men, Newton, Farraday, Pasteur, Day, Stewart, Seamen, Kelvin and the rest of them tell us that nobody knows anything about life, except as the offspring of pre-existing life." The Philosopher will then argue, and he will say: "Well, the only explanation I have to offer about initial life is this, that some tremendous force dowered with self-existence must have stooped over the mineral world, and brooding over it, breathed into its substance the breath of his own life, so that the planet began to pulsate with a life of its own." I ask the philosopher if that is his teaching. "Yes." "Come," I say, "Science and Philosophy, and let us cross the threshold of revealed truth and ask religion: 'Is this so?'" And I read its book, and I hear its words, saying that God breathed into the clay the breath of life and man became a living soul. Humbly then, I may be thankful for the message and say, "Amen, amen. So be it."

Lastly, I ask my friend the Scientist one more question. "Let me ask you a third question. I want to know when is this planet to have done with its spinning. What is going to be the upshot of all this? What is the meaning of all this fever,

fret and fume? What of this life which in midday itself in our main countries is a nightmare? Whether are we going, whence come we, whither go we, what is to happen?" And Science will say: "All I know is this, that within measurable distance of time this little planet, as you say, fuming and fretting its fevered life, will quiet down, and the pulse will cease to beat, and, tideless and inert, no life shall be able any more to breathe upon it. Whether it shall be burnt up or burnt out, I cannot tell you, but I know the end is coming." I ask it then, "Tell me, what is it that has burdened that long procession that started in the days long ago? That long procession, is it carrying out the living soul or the dead body?" Science says: "I cannot tell you. Neither my scalpel, nor my microscope, nor my test tube have yet discovered a human soul—I know nothing about it." Stick to that, I say, as a scientist.

"Philosophy, come forward with your enlightenment; you have investigated these high, psychological questions, tell me what about the soul. Is the soul the ultimate force of the body, that inspires the body, that is a thing immaterial, spiritual, and, as I believe, immortal?" I turn, and I ask all those who are human, and I say to the poet: "Is it so?" He will say to me:

"My own dim light should teach me this,  
That Life shall live for evermore,  
Else Earth were Darkness at the core,  
And Dust and Ashes all that is.

Thou wilt not leave me in the dust;  
Thou madest man, he knows not why.  
He knows he was not made to die,  
And Thou hast made him; Thou art just."

And the philosopher says:—"The wail of agony for a life is a proof to me that when you bury man's body his soul has winged its flight to the judgment seat of God. He will demand an account of the things done in the body." And Religion, triumphant, bears off Science and Philosophy by the hand and exclaims: "My port of entry was God, my point of departure is God, man's term of arrival is God. I believe in everlasting life." And science and philosophy, if sane, looking up with outstretched hands and streaming eyes, looking into the Great Beyond, exclaim: "So be it, so be it, Amen, amen."

My dear brothers, fellow-members of a peerless Empire, be true to creed and country. Keep right with God and keep right with your Empire, and see that your Empire keeps right.

Keep Science in her place, and Philosophy in her place, and Religion in her place. Let us remember that there is only one picture in the whole of Scripture from Genesis to Revelations which represents you and me, and that is the picture of the publican, striking his breast, and saying: "God be merciful to me, a sinner." You and I as human beings know that we are the children of God, know that we have fallen short of what He expected of us, know that unless he is merciful to us, it will go heavily against us. That is the picture I want you to have before yourselves always, that you may never be carried off your feet by false science or pseudo-philosophy. I want you great and glorious men of our Empire we are building up, the men of this splendid country out here, where there are such fabulous opportunities of doing good or of doing evil, to be on God's side, to have the pluck to build up your Christian manhood, and to remember always and everywhere that this little shifting scene will soon be tossed aside, that while we do our best here, to run down the little springboard, before entering into the everlasting sea to do all the good we can, and then having stripped ourselves of all earthly encumbrances, having sent your luggage by advance train, you may just plunge into the sea of eternity to be caught up into the everlasting arms of Him who sent you here on a mission charged with work, deputed to do something for Him, and to hear Him say, as He looks into your face: "Well done, well done."

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(December 11th, 1911.)

## Stray Thoughts About Canada and the Empire.

BY MR. C. A. MAGRATH.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club held on Dec. 11th, 1911, Mr. C. A. Magrath said:—

*Mr. President and Gentlemen*,—I believe I have in the past had the honor of two—possibly three—invitations to address Toronto audiences but always managed to evade the issue. Not that I wished to be discourteous but because in this age of stress and trial I hold that no man should take up the time and attention of his fellows unless he has something to say.

When your Honorary Secretary conveyed to me your invitation for to-day, I realized that I had not the available time to prepare something for the occasion. I said I had recently addressed the Canadian Club at Ottawa on "Canada and the Empire." Your committee, Gentlemen, kindly permitted me to become a "Repeater." I do hope on this day of your Provincial Elections I will be the only man in Ontario who will attempt such a thing as, under your Election Law, I understand such a liberty is looked upon as a criminal offence.

And speaking of elections I realize the atmosphere about us is surcharged with politics. I had a political experience of my own a few weeks ago. I talked morning, noon and night on a certain issue that was then before the people. I got the habit and believe I even discussed reciprocity in my sleep, but to no purpose as the verdict was against me. Now the habit I fear has not yet passed away, and should any gentleman present be in a political mood I implore him not to show it in his countenance. Otherwise if observed by me there is no saying what might happen. You may remember one of those

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\* Mr. Charles Alexander Magrath, who was born at Augusta, Ontario, in 1860, has lived in Western Canada for 30 years. He sat in the Northwest Legislature for two terms, and was returned to the House of Commons for Medicine Hat in 1908. In 1911 he was appointed chairman of the Canadian Branch of the International Waterways Commission. An ardent Imperialist and a high authority on western issues, he has written a valuable work on Canadian immigration problems.

delightful poems of the late Dr. Drummond which appears in *The Habitant*. Bateese appeared at a sale of discarded street car horses. He bid on a likely looking animal, which was knocked down to him for \$35.00. He discovered that his Choual "Castor" was quite a trotter, and entering him in a race was sailing down the track beautifully in the lead when a mischievous boy rushed to the edge of the track as Castor came abreast and rang a bell. I will allow Bateese to describe the situation.

"Wall! jus' as soon mon Choual "Castor"  
Was hear dat bell go Kling. Klang! Kling!  
He's tink of course of city car,  
An' spouse mus' be conductor ring."

Well, Castor stopped. He disgraced himself and the race was lost. There then is an instance of force of habit and what it will do. Therefore, Gentlemen, for the next half hour please forget that an election is now on as should I observe any signs of it in any countenance there is no telling what might happen to me as well as to "Canada and the Empire." And now for my subject:

Is there any particular pride or pleasure in being a Canadian citizen?" I realize that this is a dangerous question, and yet if it causes us to give some serious thought to the subject of citizenship in this young country, then I will feel that some good has been accomplished.

What is citizenship? Is it not a form of ownership? To be a citizen in some of the Old World countries carries with it privileges only attained through the sweat of the brow. That is not the situation in Canada.

If we closed our doors to the stranger and grew only by natural means—that is, by the excess of births over deaths, then it would be a source of pride to be a Canadian citizen, because the majority of the people have sprung from a strong and sturdy stock. It is the stranger, however, who is appearing and will appear at our gates that concerns me. It is the great virgin wealth of this country that is its chief source of danger, for that is the magnet which attracts the stranger.

Canada possesses in her waters alone a vast asset, occupying as she does a strategic position in the world of commerce, with great water routes leading to the sea, with water powers capable of producing the cheapest energy, lightening the burden of man's labor, for they toil on even as we sleep, with a vast storehouse of raw material, timber, minerals, inland

fisheries and fur-bearing animals. True, we may have denuded our timbered areas to a considerable extent, but if we do our duty they will be renewed. Our fur-bearing animals may have largely disappeared through the greed of the hunter, but they can be replaced and become again a source of wealth to us. And then our agricultural wealth,—I absolutely lack the vision to measure its possibilities. Well, what does it all mean? The greater the wealth, the greater the attraction to humanity, to all classes of humanity. Gentlemen, it is, as I say, the stranger that will be appearing at our gate that should concern us.

Who is there in this country that is interested in transforming the alien into a citizen? I know of none. The only citizen-making period appears to be during elections when political parties are looking for votes. The greatest criminal, should he happen to get within the country and manage to keep out of trouble for three years, can join us. It is a simple process. He submits an affidavit that he has been with us for that period, which, in some provinces is posted for two weeks in a Court House—an establishment where litigants only are supposed to go—a class of citizen frequently not regarded as the most desirable. That point, however, I will not press. What is every citizen's business is no one's, and so, being unchallenged, the criminal referred to obtains his certificate as a citizen of Canada with all the privileges thereby implied—not the least of these being that of standing beside each of us and calling us a brother Canadian. If I may be allowed to say so, it is simply a farce. Should we dream of taking men into any other partnership with us in that way? Why should we do it in our nation-building business?

Now, I am not going to discuss our immigration methods, nor suggest they are not what they should be. That would be another story, but I feel that I have said enough to make us sensible of the fact that by far the most important service in Canada is the Immigration Service. To the official on the frontier, looking into the face of the stranger with power to say, you may or you may not enter, to that man must we look for the answer to the query. "Is there any pride or pleasure in being a Canadian citizen?" The hand of the politician with political patronage should be withered should he attempt to place it upon that department of our public business. It is the duty of every good citizen to get behind that Department and insist that our boundaries shall be officered by men with the keenness of intuition of the Indian of the past, whose eyes and ears were in constant training.



Now let me briefly touch upon some features in the growth of Canada. First, let me say that in proportion to the development of transportation facilities, the more liquid does population become owing to the ease with which people may surge back and forth. In the first forty-five years of the life of the United States, when the voyage from Europe lasted several weeks, the estimated immigration amounted to a total of 250,000 people. To-day, the immigration to that country annually reaches about 1,000,000. In the earlier years the difficulty of travel across the Atlantic withheld all but the strong and daring characters. Then as its great native wealth became better known and the rapidity as well as the ease and cheapness of travel increased, the numbers grew until to-day that great country cannot stem the tide, notwithstanding its rigorous measures against the undesirable immigrant.

Europe reproduces herself at the rate of 5,000,000 yearly. About three-fifths are absorbed into the life of that continent and the rest go abroad, principally to North America. Germany controls about one-fifth of Europe's increase, but, unfortunately, she will not let us have any share of them though her household is already overcrowded. She will eventually develop a colony of her own, when she secures a suitable territory.

Coming back to Canada, with her 7,000,000 people, lying side by side with one of the most powerful nations on earth, with a population of 92,000,000 and adding to its population every four years fully as many people as we have in Canada to-day, we should, I think, realize the absolute impossibility of maintaining our independence for any length of time if we should attempt to stand alone as an independent country. It would, as I told the Canadian Club in Ottawa, be a difficulty much greater than that of preventing the neighboring city of Hull from fulfilling its ultimate destiny of being absorbed into the city of Ottawa.

Canada will not feed the United States with people, but the United States, congested by immigration, will perform that service for Canada. From and through that country will come our chief supply of people, because every facility exists for moving people into this country just as easily as they can be moved from one State of the American Union to another. A resident of the United States can take a few days from his work and run into Canada. If he finds what suits him he can take root here, otherwise he returns and continues his work there. To the European that is impossible, for once he pulls up stakes in the Old World it is hard to go back. That is the

great advantage our neighbors have over our own people in Britain who desire to emigrate to Canada.

Canada's position is, therefore, different from that of any<sup>1</sup> of the other Overseas Dominions. The emigrant who passes to Australia or South Africa is separated from his native land by a long sea voyage. To a greater or less extent he leaves behind him the ideals of his homeland and rapidly becomes knitted into the life of the new country; but obviously such a change cannot take place so quickly with those coming in great numbers from the United States to Canada. In the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, our new settlers are creating their own centres and naturally carry with them their own ideals. I repeat, then, that to maintain our national individuality is no small task for Canada, and should she ever elect to be an independent nation the task before her would, in my judgment, be absolutely impossible. In my opinion, Canada must remain an integral part of the British Empire, or else become part and parcel of the United States. There is no other course open. I realize there are many who do not agree with me in my conclusion, but, studying the conditions that must surround our growth, coupled with our position on the North American continent, I cannot see how it can be otherwise.

When a country grows only by natural means—an excess of births over deaths—there is no necessity to force the cultivation of a national sentiment, but when the growth is largely by immigration, as in the case of Canada, our natural increase being about 80,000 yearly, while immigration gives us about 300,000—then, I say, we must take active steps to mould these people into one national life with our ideals, the ideals of the British people.

I have no desire to touch upon the significance of the recent elections, and while in the present company I will not say that the economic feature that was before the people at that time was either good or bad. Still, I feel justified in saying after what happened that to serve an economic issue with a sentimental sauce is a dangerous business, at least that was my experience. The sentiment of older Canada, of our native-born population, was connection with Britain, while the sentiment of that portion of our West which is settled largely from the United States was closer relations with the United States, and that was quite natural. A country growing only through an excess of births over deaths will have but one sentiment, but when the growth by immigration is very considerably greater, then the sentiment of the native born may find itself

considerably modified by that of the immigrant population, and on some critical occasion perhaps completely overborne.

At the rate we are growing the immigration that we shall receive within the next twenty years will, at the end of that time, be fully equal to the natural increase of the present population. Looking, then, at the sentimental side of the issue dealt with at the polls recently, I can easily see that if it had occurred, say, twenty or thirty years hence, the result would probably have been very different.

A cosmopolitan immigration can make us a powerful people, like, for instance, the United States, but let us not forget that it brings with it cosmopolitan ideals. Conditions exist in that country to-day which its founders could not possibly have foreseen. It is our privilege to take advantage of their experience. Take one example,—the selection of a jury in the legal battle lately waged in Los Angeles, the outcome of the destruction of the Times building in that city,—it took several weeks to agree upon only a few of the twelve good men and true. So far as I know that is something that would not and could not occur where British ideals prevail. I do not wish it to be thought that I am casting any reflections upon our neighbors. They are a great people, and they have great problems to solve. It is only a few weeks since Edison, the famous American inventor, paid a marked tribute to the business integrity of the British nation: "They stand amongst the people of the world in the very front rank in the matter of honesty of purpose." Then is there not some honor in being a member of that great family? I do not say that with the thought that there can be no honor in belonging to other families.

Now, I come to the Imperial side of the question. First, is it desirable that Britain and her Overseas Dominions should go down into the far future as one people? If so, is it practicable? None is more interested in this than the French Canadian: his every hope of the future depends upon maintenance of the Imperialistic tie. At the outset let me say that I am an Imperialist. To me it has become a religion. I do not waste any time analyzing the true meaning of the word "Imperialist." My interpretation is that it stands for one who looks for some organic union—some cement thrown into the various elements that go to make up the British Empire, so that there shall be absolutely no doubt about our going down through the ages as a united family. I believe Britain allows all classes, drawn from all nations, to stand together shoulder to shoulder on the highest known plane of civilization. It is the disintegration of the Empire that I fear. And should that come



about, it would be the gravest calamity that could befall the human race. Amongst other things, it would mean throwing the white man's burdens within much narrower limits for support.

I consider that the majority of Canadians are Imperialists in the sense that I am, but we have two schools of thought:—one believing in the separate and independent upbuilding of each Overseas Dominion and then expecting they will all be held together by some golden thread of sentiment, and nothing more. The ideal is a good one, but let me add we are not yet rehearsing the millennium. If those Overseas Dominions were to grow only by an excess of births over deaths or were to be supplemented by an immigration largely British-born, then it would look practicable to me. But what is the situation? Europe is over-crowded. The United States are, as already stated, taking in one million annually. There is no reason why the Overseas Dominions should not, before many years, be absorbing the same number because their total capacity to absorb immigration will certainly equal that of the United States. Very good. But how much leaven is Britain able to supply her Overseas Dominions? She is reproducing herself at the rate of between four and five hundred thousand yearly, and probably only 300,000 are suitable for colonization purposes. So that she will be able to supply a leaven of only one in every three of those who will be emigrating to her Dominions. And while the theory is sometimes advanced that the filial affection of the offspring will always stand by the old Mother, we must realize that the filial affection of the stepson kind is not at all times very stable. There is the situation as I see it, in so far as maintaining the integrity of the British Empire solely by the separate and independent upbuilding of each of its units.

The other school of thought is looking for some business co-operation between the various units of the Empire with the clear understanding that each unit shall have absolute control of its tariff and other domestic matters. If you ask me for the details of that arrangement, I cannot give them. Had you asked me ten years ago if a man could fly I should have been in the same plight, yet to-day that is an accomplished fact. Fifty years ago certain men in British North America took up the question of confederating the separate British units on this continent. Each Province stood alone at that time and the argument was advanced by some that they could and should continue to do so with merely a thread of sentiment holding them together. However, the Fathers of Confedera-

tion felt otherwise and concluded to enter into a business co-operation, and we are bound together to-day by business as well as by sentimental ties. There are those who appear to feel that the various units of the Empire are too far separated from each other to come together in some business arrangement. That would have been quite true fifty years ago, but not to-day. While the ocean is not receding, the time it takes to cross it has rapidly diminished and distances are measured by time. The Thirteen Colonies were each independent of the other. They might have continued in such a condition for a while, but in unity is strength. They joined forces and made a lasting union, a business arrangement, though at that time the two extreme members of that union were farther apart in the matter of time than Great Britain and Canada are to-day.

It is true, there is a long, non-producing space, the Atlantic Ocean, intervening between Canada and the Motherland. But it is the cheapest possible traffic route to maintain. Look at our own Confederation, held together by a railway with at least two distinct intervening barriers. First, the gap from North Bay to Winnipeg, a distance of 1,000 miles, bridged by an expensive piece of road to maintain and practically non-productive in the matter of traffic; and then the Rocky Mountains section, dividing our great Middle West from British Columbia. Yet no one is going to suggest that we are not determined to maintain our national integrity by holding the different sections together by the present business arrangement. Suppose we dropped the business feature, how long would the thread of sentiment hold us together, and especially to Britain when at no great date the sentiment of the stepson may have to be reckoned with?

If Canada is to be great, it will only be through the development of her native wealth, and to accomplish that she must become a great trader in the markets of the world—the policing of her trade being as necessary as that of her centres of population, and even more so. No matter what her destiny is she must accept her responsibilities in the matter of defence until the thousand years of peace are ushered in, and from what we read in the papers about Europe the Millennium has not dawned yet.

Apparently those who believe in creating the Overseas Dominions into separate independent units favor each separately policing the waters which surround their territory, very much the same as residents of parallel thoroughfares attempting to maintain separate police organizations to take charge of

their respective streets, and half of the intervening territory—something that does not appear very practicable.

A superficial consideration of the subject of defence might incline us to the belief that for Canada to engage with the other members of the Empire in a uniform system of defence would involve us in greater burdens than if we developed our defence system independently. Combination usually means greater efficiency at a minimum cost. The term "Defence of the Empire" simply means the defence of our interests within the Empire, and it appears to me that that can be accomplished more effectively by co-operation than by independent action.

While I have admitted my inability to see the business co-operation that will eventually be worked out, and doubtless worked out slowly, within the Empire, still the existing situation is an impossible one, in that the representatives of the people of one unit—the British Isles—may by their act at any time plunge the others into difficulties with foreign powers. Of course, I realize that we have some who feel that we need not necessarily be involved in such troubles, but the other nations will have something to say about that and we would probably find ourselves in the humiliating position of either being forced to get busy or pull down the flag. I hold with others then that we must soon change that order of things and have a voice in the foreign affairs of our people as well as join in a uniform system of protecting our combined interests.

So far as a closer union is concerned, the general feeling appears to be that the Overseas Dominions must take the initiative, fearing that if the Mother Country did so, it might drive the offspring farther apart instead of bringing them closer together. In my judgment, that view is wrong. It is for the Mother Country to work out some simple partnership capable of being gradually developed into a sound business arrangement; and then to give the Overseas Dominions the option of entering the partnership with the clear understanding that if they do not do so their position in the Empire remains as at present. I venture the opinion that if such an opening was created the Overseas Dominions would soon be found within the closer circle. The first step in that partnership arrangement would be a voice in the foreign policy of our Empire, which must be brought about at no distant date, otherwise that counter sentiment to which I have referred may in gaining strength as time passes seek other arrangements, the nature of which I have no desire to discuss.

A great deal has been said about the formation of an Imperial Parliament to deal with the foreign policy as well as



matters of defence. The chief stumbling block appears to be the fear that it would destroy the autonomy of each unit having representatives therein, as it would have to decide what monies each Dominion should provide for defence purposes. Why, the question has been asked, should South Africa have a voice in fixing what the Canadian taxpayers should pay in defence? The same remark might apply to the case of the Maritime Provinces, which to-day have a voice in the responsibilities of British Columbia in Dominion matters.

The creation of an Imperial Parliament would naturally reduce the status of the British Parliament, but not that of those of the Overseas Dominions, as there is vastly greater work in the national upbuilding of new countries than merely looking after domestic matters in a finished country as in Britain. Of course the older country has greater social problems than confront governments in new countries. Therefore it would appear an impossible position to have a body representing, say, Canada in an Imperial House, fixing her responsibilities in the matter of taxation for defence and to have at the same time a Dominion Parliament independently imposing the necessarily heavy burden for developing the country. It looks as if there should be but one tax gatherer and that the local or Home Government. The scheme might have to be an Imperial Parliament partly elected and partly nominated by the Home Governments of each unit, so that the Imperial Body would largely be in sympathy with those in power in each Dominion; and further, Imperial measures should have more than clear majorities, as a means of protection to the smaller units; also, in attempting to fix the responsibilities of each unit, expenditures, as imposed by the Home Governments, for national development, would have to be considered as part of that responsibility. In other words, national development and national defence shall be bracketed together and dealt with at the same time.

The Imperial Conferences are certainly doing good work. Why should they not be held more frequently, and be perambulating in character? Surely each unit of the Empire has spare public men whom it can send abroad to discuss our larger questions. It is only by rubbing shoulders together that those complicated questions can be solved. Would it not be an excellent idea if each unit were permitted to have, say, three seats, without voting power, at its disposal in the Parliament of each of the other units, never allowing the same representative to occupy a seat in the Parliament of the same Dominion more than one session? That would keep a small stream of men

interchanging within the Empire, thereby giving greater breadth to our public life, something not only desirable but very necessary in young and progressive countries. The foregoing suggestions are but vague ideas, and vague ideas passing into the minds of others sometimes leave a germ which breeds a sound principle.

Now I have given you a few stray thoughts on Canada and the Empire. May I be permitted to summarize my conclusions. First, if Canada has the great wealth, which you and I believe she possesses, then in proportion to that wealth will the desire be to get within our borders. In the procession will be found the undesirable as well as the desirable. The standard of citizenship is as sensitive as the mercury in the glass. Let in the undesirable and down that standard drops, forcing upward our responsibilities—that is, increasing our burdens in maintaining those various institutions which the state has to provide for the unfortunate class.

Then our pride and pleasure in being Canadians will largely depend upon the extent to which the sieve is used upon our borders. And remembering that those coming through that sieve will, with their offspring, before many years outnumber the natural growth of Canada's population of to-day, may I use the simile of the chemist who does not wait till nature assimilates the different elements he finds within his mortar, but actively uses the pestle.

Canada is a mortar, and the pestle we need in order to work proper cohesion into the various peoples finding their way into this country, is British ideals. And likewise the pestle necessary to knit together the several units of an Empire, made up of various peoples, is business co-operation.

A few words more. The cementing together of British countries which circle the globe and upon which the sun never sets, is a magnificent task and in the best interests of humanity. To hold to that idea makes us none the less true and loyal Canadians. It will mean our own material advancement. Our Maritime Provinces will be brought more into evidence, and let me say we cannot congratulate ourselves for any active interest we have taken in their development. Their chief function in the Dominion appears to have been to produce good men for the rest of Canada.

In short, the perpetuation of the great British Empire, with its history, its glory, and its greatness, stands for the liberty and the advancement of mankind.

(December 19th, 1911.)

## The Brotherhood of Man.

BY MR. ELBERT HUBBARD.\*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on Dec. 19th, Mr. Elbert Hubbard said:—

*Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,*—I congratulate myself this afternoon that I am addressing an audience that can fill in between the lines, that will understand a great many things I leave unsaid, that will require no blue-prints, and will put the very best possible construction on all my faltering words.

If you were to ask me here this afternoon what in my mind is the best book published during the last decade, I would say that it is a little book of Maurice Maeterlinck's entitled "The Life of the Bee." And in that book Maurice Maeterlinck makes this point, that the bee, taken four miles from its hive, is lost and undone and can never get back, that the bee alone makes no honey, the bee alone has no intelligence; but a hive of bees has a great and magnificent intelligence, the hive knows things that man will never know, the hive of bees is close to some great secrets of infinity—I will name you one thing: the hive knows the secret of sex, the hive produces a queen, workers and drones at will; if the queen is destroyed they take the larva, feed it in a certain way, and they produce a queen. And that intelligence of the whole Maeterlinck calls the spirit of the hive. If the bees have more drones than they can use in their business they know what to do with the excess number, a thing that society has not yet determined and has not yet worked out. The bees have teachers. They have inspectors. They have janitors. And they have undertakers. But so far as we know they have no doctors, no lawyers, and no preachers. (Laughter.) And whether they are wise in this omission or not, it would be indelicate to ask on this occasion.

I am not to talk to you this afternoon on the subject of bees. I am going to talk to you about men and women, and

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\* Mr. Elbert Hubbard, of East Aurora, in New York State, is the editor of the *Philistine* and *Fra* magazines, and the founder of the Roycroft Press, established at that point. The famous "message to Garcia" is from his pen.



the first point I make is this, that a man alone, separated from his kind, has no intelligence. Separated from the mass, separated from your fellows, your reason reels, and your mind totters. All of our activities in life have their possibility in mind, and any man who says, "Go to, I will succeed," and leaves humanity out of the equation, is a sick man or a criminal. There are just two places where we send men who forget the rights of other people, we send them to the penitentiary and to the insane asylum. The badge of sanity is co-operation, and the more people you can work with, the more people you can sympathize with, the more people you can help, the more you will be helped, and the greater and better are you.

I said that the badge of sanity is the ability to co-operate, and co-operation means getting along with the other fellow instead of scrapping with him. When you give him a lift, don't do it with a No. 9 boot. Why do I say this? I will say it, if you please, for a social reason: self-preservation is a strong motive in the human heart, and in the matter of self-preservation in order to help ourselves we have to recognize as thinking people that we have got to help other people, and as a business man I make the proposition to you, that to sell a man anything he does not want or need, or to sell him anything beyond what it is worth, is a calamity for you. We make our money out of our friends—our enemies will not trade with us. And when you make a sale you want to make a friend. Why do I say this? Because you are the other fellow. For the first time in the history of the race business men have accepted the idea of the brotherhood of man and the solidarity of the race.

Ideas are born, they have their infancy, their time of stress and struggle, they succeed, and everything that succeeds dies; to succeed is to disintegrate, to deteriorate, and fruit that ripens, too much loved by the sun, falls; only the failure lives. The only man on whose tomb we carve the single word "Saviour" was a failure. That is the rule, always, for ever. So ideas have their manhood, they succeed, they need sleep, they look backward, they die, they are laid in their graves, and there they lie long ages, to come again, to slaughter and slay, to liberate and inspire, and this perfect resurrection goes on and on for ever. Only the rising and falling all the infinite day,—nothing is permanent but change.

Thus with that idea of the brotherhood of man. Those who held it were called dreamers, idealists, Utopians, to them has been passed the hemlock, their portion has been the scaf-

fold, the noose, the knife, right down the centuries from the dawn of history to our own time. The idea of the brotherhood of man and the solidarity of the race has never been accepted, so far as we know, in all history as a working maxim or motive by the people. But here we are, working men, business men, of all professions, from the various walks of life, in competition with each other, here we meet as a brotherhood, and for a little while we turn out of our hearts prejudice, fear, hate, we are one people. I look at you with your bronzed, happy faces, you are listening to me, you don't resent what I say, you are not obliged to accept it, but all you take away is that which you bring, as the dead carry in their clenched hands only what they have given away. Emerson says that if you go to Europe you bring back much only when you take much with you. I can't tell you the right thing, if you slight what I say. Because I bring back to you some things you know, I don't give you any tale I tell you. If I expressed for you a new idea, you would resent it; we resent everything and anything for an innovation. The first man who deserved a Carnegie medal was the man who ate raw oysters. Truth is not a thing to be imparted, but to be achieved. So I am talking to myself: you are me, I am you. Do you remember how when John Wesley saw a man taken to Tyburn, there to be hanged, he turned to a friend and said, "But for the grace of God, there goes John Wesley?" Do you remember, when old Dr. Johnson sat in a tavern, with Oliver Goldsmith opposite, he saw a man come in, and said, "Goldy, I hate that man!" Goldy says, "Dr. Johnson, who is he?" Dr. Johnson had a subtle intellect, and was sensitive. He said, "I don't know who that man is, that's the trouble, if I knew him I'd love him!" To know all is to forgive all. We have more imagination now than we have ever had before. We are pretty nearly getting enough imagination to put ourselves in the place of the other fellow, and some day we are going to try the Golden Rule in business. It has been recommended, you know. And some day we are going to try it. We work from the complex to the simple. I heard of a man who said this: "I have traveled all the world over, I have climbed the mountain peaks of thought, I have read all histories, I know all religions, I have been one with Mohammed and one with Christ on Calvary, I have been everywhere, I have achieved, I have succeeded, and now I have come back home, and I am going to look out of the window." Do you get it? Well, the idea is this: (Laughter)—Never mind! What's the use? You've got it, or you haven't. You have! only I paralyzed

you for a moment! That's all! But the idea is, I carry the world in my heart, and all the world I have is the world I see. How many beautiful things, magnificent things, miraculous things, you can see out of the window. Let down your bucket! Only water! Why famish? That's the proposition. Walt Whitman speaks of a hospital where he saw a dying man brought in. The old world says, "I am that man." We are partakers of the woe of the world, and of the joys of the world. We are one people. You ask me what a man is: I will tell you; I will make bold to tell you. You don't have to accept it, I will visit on you no threat of punishment, you know, if you reject what I say; also, I give you no hope of reward. (Laughter.) You have it! And your punishment, if you write a fool poem, is that you get it published! We are punished by our sins, and not for them. A lady said to me over at the King Edward Hotel this morning, a dear good lady, a woman of a lot of intelligence—she must have had a lot of intelligence, otherwise she would not have come to call on me!—for there are some people who show they have intelligence and she had good taste, and I admit it! (Laughter)—and in the course of conversation she said to me, "You write lots of things I don't believe," and I said, "Neither do I." But I believed them when I wrote them." Now sometimes being unable to find anything as interesting I read my own amusing works, and reading things I wrote ten years ago I wonder why I wrote that fool stuff, so perhaps you have been perplexed by the same proposition; if so, we have a point of sympathy. Now hear that story—a bromide! A lot who read Robert Browning, a writer of obscure verse, a man we talk about but never read—(Laughter) but it is a wonderful thing to have a literary reputation! because people would rather admit you are a great man than read your stuff, as Dr. Johnson said to the poet, you know,—"I praise your book, but damn ye if I'll read it!" Now this lady says, "You write lots of things I don't believe." I said, "Neither do I." Then we both smiled rather foolishly. The lady taking a book out of her reticule said, "Won't you tell me what you meant by that?" "Madam," I replied, "I don't know what I meant when I wrote that." "Does it mean anything to you?" "Indeed it doesn't!" "Doesn't it mean anything to you then?" Everybody smiled. It is the most natural thing in the world: you are young, you are in certain circumstances, you are amid things, in an environment of a certain kind, certain situations come to you; your point of view changes, you move out, you forget, you wonder why you thought that. I am being



polished, I am only in process, I am not yet made, and these days are not yet up with me or you, they have not really begun.

Now I will tell you what a man is: a man is a practising, thinking, reasoning, and usually unreasonable, manifestation of divine energy; he is sent into life without his permission, and is sent out of it against his will,—we come in one door, we are going out by another; we are being used by an unknown power for an unseen end. My idea is, man is a part of Nature—spell it with a capital. When I used to go to the Baptist Church—now, don't laugh, this is a serious matter—I used to sing "All days will be Sunday by and by," "Sweet rest in heaven." I don't sing those songs now. I want to remember the week day to keep it holy. And if we should go to heaven and find it a place of rest, harps always in tune, robes always laundered out, plumbing never out of order, everything found, I wouldn't want to be there. That's just what it seems to me. Work is the only rest I want. In order to preserve our health, our independence, our good cheer, we must have work. You change your work from time to time, that's the nearest approach to Paradise I know anything about. I would like to live every day as if I knew I were to die to-night; and I would like to live every day as if I knew I were to live for ever. My idea is that the best preparation for the life to come is to live here now right up to your highest and best, so if we are going to heaven we will be used to it when we get there. Now I am not preparing to die, I am preparing to live, and one of the great accomplishments of the time, of the spirit of the time, is the idea that death is not a calamity, that death is a form of life; and we know there is no pain in death; that if you have a pain you should thank God, because dead ones have no pain. And also when death comes to you, no devils will ever dance on your footboard; if ever devils do dance for you, they will dance on your sideboard! (Laughter.) So my plea this afternoon is to live this afternoon right up to your highest and best, to find out and fix the idea in your life if possible, that you are here, and what you are here for. But I would say, that we are here for co-operation, to assist each other. Once in a while you gentlemen who look a payroll in the eye, as I do, wonder if your employees will come and say to you, "Well, if you keep that man, I won't stay!" What do you do under those conditions? Why, you fire 'em both (Laughter) provided you can't bring peace about between them. The man who succeeds in any big departmental store is the man who

makes peace between the furniture department and the book department. Keep down clique. Keep down whatever would prevent full play for exultation, exhilaration, happiness, health. We believe in work, in the hands that work, in the brains that think, in the hearts that love. That's the proposition! As one business man talking to another, I am not talking ethics to you, I am not talking religion to you, I am just talking to you about a business policy, and I am expressing to you the spirit of the times. For we are ruled not by our own individual intelligences, but we are ruled by public opinion, and we have had to go across the sea and borrow a word from our German friends to express the idea—the "Zeitgeist"—we are ruled by the Zeitgeist. And my mission is the transformation of the Zeitgeist, the intelligence of the many, to let it play through you, and my desire is to be a good transmitter of the divine energy; I am the divine machine; God speaks to you, and I would listen.

I have a deal of sympathy with that old expression of the Quakers, the Friends, they "listen to the Voice"—they spell it with a capital—they believe in the Divine Spirit that speaks to them when they are in tune, and I would love so to be in tune, if you please, and catch the divine electric spark when it flashes. So I believe not only in the divinity of a Man who lived two thousand years ago, but in my own divinity, and in yours, the divine energy of which we are a part, and of which we are a manifestation.

So, as a business man, my business is to supply a human want—for a consideration. (Laughter.) I don't believe in charity, I don't believe in philanthropy. I saw your beautiful hospital here this morning; I admire it in an architectural way, but let me tell you, that beautiful hospital is wrong, I don't wonder you wax poor—you are running on full capacity. You should be ashamed of your hospital, your jails, your policemen, and some day we will all be ashamed of these things. We should keep well, a man's business is to keep well. Men go to a hospital because they can't keep well, and men can't send to Massey's or Oliver's or the International Harvester Company's to make a part, these men can't make a part, so you go to a hospital and they give you ether and remove your—pocketbook (Laughter). Now the practice of medicine until our own time has been a practice of palliatives: if a man has a pain, he goes to a doctor, instead of thinking back, working back and deciding why he has the pain, and then—cutting it out! (Laughter.) Do you follow me? When I talk about "cutting it out," do you follow me? I don't refer to your appendenda vermiforme, I refer to your bad habits—

I assume you have a few—(Laughter) I am talking to myself, you know. I advertise for Gillette and his razor! (Laughter.) There is a reason why I should advertise for Gillette: I want every man to shave himself so he can see his own face in the mirror every morning. I believe that any man who gets a good look at his own homely old mug once a day will never blame any man for any thing!

Now, what we want to do is to size up our own case to diagnose our own case, and look after one man, and that's the man right under your own Derby. And if you will look after this fellow and keep him straight, keep him from interfering with other people, and if you realize that his rights end where another man's begin, you have pretty nearly solved the problem. We have said it was a disgrace to be in the penitentiary; it is, because you have violated some law of the land; and if you are in a hospital, you are there because you have violated some law of nature. Of course, you may have been run over by a benzine buggy. I know the automobile has divided the world into two parts, the quick and the dead (Laughter)—but in order to be on the safe side, you want to buy one, and then the other fellow takes the chance, that's the proposition!

Now, we live in the richest world we have ever known or heard of or can imagine, there is enough for everybody, and as I said to my friend here, no one will ever die here in Canada of starvation. I see you are talking of collections for poor people—there are no poor people in Toronto! There may be a few defectives, but you don't evolve them, with this magnificent climate—you have weather and you have climate. (Laughter) you have the richest country the world has ever known, and the resources of Canada are not yet tapped! (Cheers) You don't know Canada! We need your wheat;—we scorned reciprocity until we got hungry, but now only 33 per cent. of the inhabitants of the States are farmers, and only that country is safe where one-half of the people of the land are partners with nature and tillers of the soil. The farmer has never been respectable until we had dollar wheat and ten cent hogs! It is one thing to go and visit a farmer as I did not long ago in Saskatchewan and ride with him to town in his "Chalmers 36," and help him calculate his rent. That was a great experience. If any man in the world should be respectable and happy, it is the farmer. The farmer to-day has paid off his mortgages, is coming into possession of his own. But our population in the States is two-thirds of it in the cities, so we want food! We wanted a while ago pulp to make white paper for muck-raking magazines; we wanted



cheap paper, because we have a lot of cheap men, and so we took the duty off wood pulp; and we got what we wanted. And when we are hungry enough, we are going to take the duty off food stuffs, and they will flow in! (Applause.) It is coming, sure! I am ashamed of my country and of the tariff laws passed by my country, passed as retaliatory laws, the result of hate, prejudice and fear, three bad things. You had our property and you refused to return it. (Laughter.) Yes, they came over here, past all guards, they were our property; it came over here and you kept it, and we said, "We will put up a perpetual spite fence!" You know what happens to the fellow that puts up a spite fence? He gets astride of it, and then he gets his breeches caught, and he can't get off. And that's just what happened to us! It was coming to us, and we got it! (Laughter), where Mrs. Potter Palmer wears her pearls! Now we think more of you than ever before (Applause), because you have shown your ability to do without us. (Cheers.) Now, isn't the spite fence an outrageous, disgraceful thing? And isn't it bad policy as business men to build a spite fence? I will quote you Elizabeth Fry, in her Quaker dress, mother of sixteen children! going to call on the King of France, wearing her simple Quaker garb, she said to His Majesty—he was building a prison,—“You Majesty, I have visited the prison, and I say to thee now, that thee shall build no dark cells.” And the King of France looked at her, and said “Why?” She said, “Thee shall build no dark cells, for thee and thy children shall occupy them.” A great and poetic truth. And you read in French history—and you all know French history—you know how truthfully that woman spoke. Behind her words was this great truth; everything you do, you do for yourselves; everything you build, you build for yourselves. Build no spite fence! for you spite yourselves. When you try to injure another, you injure yourselves. I myself fear to entertain a thought of hate, fear, jealousy, revenge. Why? Because I injure myself. When I hate, I disturb my circulation; and when I disturb my circulation I impair my digestion. And most of the bad theology in the world has come to us from indigestion. And when I disturb my digestion I disturb my thought processes; they cease to act sanely, efficiently; I look both ways, I doubt, I wonder; and the first thing I know I have chills of fear; I send for the doctor, and he calls it “nerv. pros.”—nervous prosperity, which is worse than nervous restitution—the thing the Standard Oil and the Steel Trust have! (Laughter.) So the argument is, I would act sanely, and laugh, and exercise my diaphragm.

As for wealth, well, I should like to have a little bank balance, not too much but just a little; and I should like it to appear in black, not red. There was an old farmer in my town not long ago and accidentally his bank balance was in red just a very little while, and they notified him. You will think "They will take care of that for the present." But they didn't; they sent him word several times about that balance till finally he told them, "If you badger me any more I will come around and draw it out!" Now a little bank balance is a good thing, and so is the savings bank habit. And I have a little savings bank account in the Crown Bank. Do you know, when the Millerites over in Buffalo prophesied that the world was going to come to an end on a certain day, do you know what they did? they hiked over to Canada! Now, I sympathize with the move and with the proceeding. My heart is in Canada, part of it, and I have bought a little farm not long ago—out there in Saskatchewan, I like them so much, I like to have a little Canadian real estate. Also, the *Fra* magazine, that I have the honor of publishing, circulates in Canada at the second class rate,—now there's reciprocity! (Laughter)—you get it in Canada, just as cheap as in the United States, two dollars a year! (Laughter.)

Now friends, the proposition is, that we are living in a new world. The common people, and we are common people, plain people, we have hold of the idea of the brotherhood of man; we know, the only way to help ourselves is to help other people. Rome at her heart, and Greece at her flower, never knew it. They knew something about the business of production, creation, and distribution. I prophesy—will the vision ever come true? It is for you and me to make it come true. We will leave this world better.

Three men have conquered the world—exploitation, taxation, oppression, tyranny, death! Not long ago in a great art gallery in Germany I saw a picture. It was a great canvas at the top of a stairway, and I stood at the bottom of the marble stairway. Three men come riding out of the canvas on horseback. In the centre is a big bay horse, and the man with face white looks at you. It is the face of the Imperial Caesar, the Pope of Rome, the greatest man of initiative the world has ever seen. He conquered the world—or all he could find of it. The jealous Caesar's brows are bound with victory, but his face is white and anxious. Then at the end is a black horse, bearing a man whose face is yellow, ghastly, with dark lines. It is Alexander, Captain-General of Greece at twenty. He conquered the world, and died at thirty-one sighing for more worlds to conquer. You and I will never

die from that disability—we see a Milky Way of worlds to conquer. He succeeded. Everything that succeeds dies. He died. Here he comes riding out of the canvas on a big black horse Bucephalus, the man-eating horse, but Bucephalus is tired now, he lifts his foot and reels as he walks like tired. I see another man riding, a little man, grey-cloaked and with a cocked hat, on the mare he rode at Austerlitz. His hand reaches out and pats the mane, the hand is thinking of her but he is looking at you, his face white, ghastly, as he pats the mane of the little white horse. Slowly they come riding close together out of the canvas. You wonder why they come riding so slowly; your eyes become accustomed to the dim light, and you see why: they are riding over a sea of corpses. All you men who know and love a horse, you know no horse will ever step on a body of a man if he can help it. And as they are riding the hands of the dead men reach up and grasp the empty air, their sightless eyes look up. You look at these three faces, white and anxious; you know whose they are. What have they won? what have they conquered? They have conquered, and died, and the net result of their conquering is death! The world will be conquered, but by the forces of creation, distribution, industries, by the forces of co-operation, by the blessed trinity of man, woman and child. This will conquer the world!

Two things happened in the year 500, only two things. One of them was that three little German tribes sailed down around their coast where they lived, the coast of the Baltic, the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes, with their wives and children with them, their horses and their cattle, and they landed on the coast of Brittany; they made peace with the black, brawny Britons, they sowed and reaped. In the year 1000 William the Conqueror came and he conquered England, he married an English wife. Now, as Webster says, "the drum taps of the British union circle the globe and greet the rising sun." We are one people! Rome went down, and Greece is gone; Assyria and Bablyon are in the dust; Egypt has been a dream; but these people, the Teutonic tribes, lived on! We are one people: your Shakespeare is mine, your history is mine, my ancestry were partners of yours. We are one people; to-day as one people we recognize thoroughly this idea of the brotherhood of man, the solidarity of the race. It is the achievement of the time in which we live. It is for us to idealize it, to throw it out so the world may see it. It is for us as business men to bring it about. We will die, pass away, but we will leave this world better than we found it, and the Power that cares for us here will never desert us—there!"



(December 28th, 1911.)

## The Sikhs in Canada.

BY DR. SUNDER SINGH.\*

AT a special meeting of the Canadian Club held on December 28th, Dr. Sunder Singh said:—

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,*—It is a great pleasure to be here with you. It is a great privilege to speak to so many men who are interested in the British Empire, which fills the world. The President has spoken to you about the position; in fact, has passed very flattering remarks about the Sikhs' service to the British Empire in India, as well as outside of India.

Before speaking of the Sikhs in Canada I will speak of them in general. They are all one man's disciples, *i.e.*, followers of Baba Nanak: the word "Sikh" means a disciple. The Sikhs originated in Northern India, in the Punjab,—the land of the Five Rivers. They were disciplined by the oppression of the Mogul tyrants. In the 5th century there arose a reformation. Just as there was a reformation in Europe, so there was one in India. It was started by Guru Nanak and Guru Govind Singh. It was a social reformation, and they taught that all religions are one; that humanity,—men and women,—are all one; that sin could not be atoned for by asceticism and idol worship. That teaching could not fail but meet with opposition in a land where there was so much idol worship and superstition to cause the people to be up in arms. The Guru or the teacher went to Arabia and to all parts of India. He taught that there was no caste in the eyes of God; that all people were one. We had ten teachers altogether but the Mohammedans persecuted these poor Sikhs, put prices on their heads, and their children were flayed alive.

The ninth teacher, the Guru Tegh Bahadur, was asked by the Mohammedans to profess the Mohammedan religion. He said the Mohammedans and the Hindus were all one in the sight of God, so there was no difference. He was finally crucified. His son, Guru Govind Singh, made this church a

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\* Dr. Sunder Singh, of Victoria, B.C., is the learned editor of "The Aryan" Magazine, and the official leader of a colony of four thousand Sikhs, located in Southern British Columbia.

church militant. He taught the Sikhs to help the weak and the fallen. After the death of this Guru, Govind Singh, came the tenth and greatest Guru, who consolidated the Sikhs into a religious and political power; his teachings spread all over India. When he died, some of the Sikhs who forgot that spirit got into trouble with the British and fought with them. They were valiant foemen but they lost their cause and soon after that they helped to keep British power in India. In fact, the history of India would have been different if it had not been for the Sikhs.

The righteousness and piety of the Christian brothers Lawrence helped to win the hearts of these people, and regiment after regiment of Sikhs raised to help the British in India and they scaled the walls of Delhi and won that day. (Applause.)

Now, as to the movement of the Sikhs into Canada:—The first Sikhs who came were the troopers who came over from the celebration of Queen Victoria's jubilee at London. They passed through this country; they saw this wonderful Dominion, and when they went home they spoke of the prairies which were just like the plains of the Punjab. Some enterprising men wanted to come to Canada. They are not like other people in India,—their idea of God is different from that of the Hindu people. They started to come over here. In 1905 a few came over; in 1906 a few more; in 1907 and 1908 a further number; but in 1909 all immigration from India was stopped. When they came over, a few went into different laboring occupations but not many as they are originally farmers and their intention was to settle on the land. Most of them in British Columbia and Alberta have bought land. The intention is to put them on the land so they may, as farmers, help to develop the country. Some of them clear the land and they do the roughest work as laborers. We find them engaged as dairy farmers, market gardeners, growing fruit, etc. They have adapted themselves to their new surroundings,—how well they have done is expressed by Colonel Davidson, of Davidson and MacRae,—one of the biggest employers of labor there,—who says these Sikhs are the most efficient men he has. He employs three hundred and fifty men at Westminster, B.C. When they came they were unskilled; now they are getting responsible positions. Every time he goes to see them he finds their sheds far cleaner than before; and they are improved, are better physically since coming into this country. Their standard of living is higher, and they have made good. And I make this appeal to you,—

the people from Southern Europe, from Italy, the Chinese, the Japanese, are accorded better treatment. Is there any process of law or regulation which can be directly or indirectly used to strip a loyal British subject of his inherent right to travel or dwell in another part of the British Empire? The Sikhs reason that they can travel in the Sahara, in India, in China, in more or less every country of Europe,—and why not in Canada? They go back to their villages and temples and they tell of Canada and how they are treated here. These are the people who have upheld the Union Jack, the flag which stands for equality and justice to all the races in the wide-flung domain of the British Empire. They are a people who are law-abiding and loyal; and their loyalty is not lip-loyalty, but is proven on the battlefield by their willing sacrifice. Bear with me, Gentlemen, when I say that a people who have been so loyal as the Sikhs might surely expect some deed of gratefulness from the other side. Other Orientals get better treatment. A Japanese has to show only \$50 on coming into Canada, while the Sikh has to show \$200. The "continuous journey" clause which was passed some time ago and which required that the Sikhs must come out by one boat all the way from India to Canada, is causing a lot of hardship, because there is no boat which comes direct to Canada from India. That law was meant to shut out the Japanese from Honolulu in 1908, but it is applied to our people. These people go back to their villages and tell their relatives,

"We have been to Canada, and, though the Canadians can come to India as officers or into the civil service or as missionaries here, we can't have our children and wives come to us. We want to get our children educated, but owing to the indirect and invidious laws we cannot have them come to us."

The Sikhs have fitted into the situation, and the prejudice against them is passing away. They have \$2,000,000 invested in British Columbia; they have put every cent they had into land there,—not like foreigners who come in to make a lot of money and go away with it; they are here to settle down and develop the country.

The Sikhs have shown their devotion to the British Empire in Tirah, in Tibet, in Afghanistan, in East Africa, in the Soudan, in Somaliland, and just at this moment Sikh troopers are being sent to fight your cause in Persia and the Abor country on the Northeast frontier of India. A people who show loyalty like this,—surely Canada would not accord to them the same treatment as to those who are of different stock and



character. They expect better treatment than foreigners. To lump them together with Japanese and Chinese as Orientals is absurd. They have the same thoughts and feelings as you and are not like the Orientals. You will bear with me, Gentlemen, when I say that this ill-treatment of the Sikhs in Canada is helping, in fact fanning, the unrest in India.

To show that there is so manifest a link between the Sikhs and the rest of the British Empire, let me read from this book I have in my hand what the author, Bagat Lakshman Singh, writing of the life and work of Guru Govind Singh,—the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs,—says in telling the story of the Durbār held at Delhi in honor of the coronation of King Edward VII., in January, 1903. He quotes an extract from the report of the celebrations published in the *Times of India*, Bombay, saying:

"To-day was the birthday of Govind Singh, an anniversary held sacred by all Sikhs, when they meet in their temples to offer prayers to his memory. It was decided by the leading Sikh Maharajas, now at the Imperial assemblage, to go in solemn procession to the shrine of Tegh Bahadur and to do homage to the name of Govind Singh and renew their vows of loyalty to the King Emperor upon that venerated spot. For the little prison is now a temple and place of pilgrimage, hallowed by the people, for whose sake the saintly Guru died. The ceremony was witnessed by about a dozen Europeans, for it had not been publicly announced. But thousands of Sikhs from all over Northern India were there, drawn together by a common motive. It was one of the most dramatic events of these eventful gatherings. For this Durbar makes the final fulfilment of the prophecy. Here in Imperial Delhi the monarch of the 'White race from over the Sea' has just proclaimed his right to rule over a vaster empire than the Moghuls ever knew. By the aid of the gallant Sikhs the prediction has been fulfilled to the letter. It was a sight worth seeing,—that of the Sikhs flocking to do homage to the King-Emperor upon the very spot where their leader laid down his life for his faith. It was something that a patriotic Englishman, remembering how completely the vision of the Guru had been realized, could not contemplate without a thrill of pride. When you thought of the martyred ascetic, of his vision of the White Race from over the ocean, of the gallant Sikhs fighting for Great Britain in the streets of Delhi;

and, last and strongest of all, of the Sikhs themselves saluting their sacred book that morning with the British National Anthem, you felt that there was a moving picture which, could they but see it, might well give pause to the enemies of England."

Well, Gentlemen, these are the people who ask for justice at your hands. (Applause.) They are a people who, as I have said, have shown time and again, not once but many times, their loyalty, and if a call came to-day would go and fight on a moment's notice.

Your President was telling me that Sir Andrew Fraser was lecturing here four or five weeks ago, and he told a newspaper that the treatment received by the Sikhs in Canada was scandalous; that it was outrageous for them to be accorded the same treatment as the Japanese and Chinese. We hope that by bringing this question to the notice of the business men of Canada they will see that some justice is done to the Sikhs. Canada has a great future and it behooves the people of this country to have amicable relations with India. The two peoples should understand and know each other, so that this prejudice should be done away with.

At the Imperial Conference, Lord Crewe, Secretary of State for India, suggested that it was possible for the Dominion Government, working within the limits laid down for the admission of immigrants, to make the entrance of East Indians more easy and pleasant. If it became known that within those limits East Indian subjects would receive a genuine welcome and would not be looked upon with suspicion, a great deal might be done to bring about better relations between India and the Dominion. Until pleasant relations exist between the Dominions and India we are far from being a United Empire.

As Lord Crewe said, we are far from being a united Empire until the relations are more amicable than they are at present. Canada is to show the lead, because Canada has a great future. Canada is going to become the centre of the British Empire. (Applause.) And for the safety of the British Empire it behooves Canada to accord to these loyal people the same rights as are accorded to any other British citizen. The Empire is to be founded only on righteousness. This Empire has a great future because, as our ninth teacher said, there is a mystic link between India and Great Britain; between India and Canada,—we don't know what it is,—and the people of Canada ought to know by this time that the

people of India should be accorded the same treatment as is given to any other British citizen.

The Sikhs have all along believed in British fair play and justice, and if that idea, on account of this treatment, were lost then it would be a very bad day. The people of India have all the time believed that when all was said and done British justice would be done to all the people of India and all the various tribes,—that when they went to a British court they would get justice. In the same way it is for the people of Canada to see that justice is done in this case; that the wives and children that have been separated from these men are allowed to come. These men have been in this country six years; they worship the same God; they are law-abiding citizens; they have fitted into the situation here. It is well that the pledges given to the people of India by Queen Victoria should be remembered; that we hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects. These pledges were confirmed by the late King Edward, as well as by His Majesty King George V., who has won the homage and loyalty of all his Indian subjects by being crowned at Delhi. It is right and due that justice should be done to all these people. It would help to allay the present feeling in India; it would help to consolidate this great Empire. There are four thousand Sikhs over here in British Columbia in different occupations; they have adapted themselves to the work and to the different conditions in Canada.

You admit Galicians, Italians, Greeks and other Southern European people who are aliens; but our people have been British subjects for generations, almost as long as Canada has been a part of the British Empire,—for a hundred and fifty years. It is a household word among the Sikhs that England,—Great Britain,—and the Sikhs will hold together. I hope you will consider our rights and give us the same right as you give to any other people. (Applause.)

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(January 8th, 1912.)

## The Coronation Fortnight.

BY MR. H. B. AMES.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club held on January 8th, 1912, Mr. Ames said:—

As the chairman has explained, I was one of the delegates who were fortunate enough to be chosen to represent Canada at the Coronation. The opportunities that were ours of participating in the Coronation functions and festivities came to us as representatives of this Dominion. The invitation was given by a committee of the Lords and Commons to the Parliaments of the self-governing dominions, and we sent eighteen representatives from Canada, thirteen from the House of Commons and five from the Senate, both political parties being proportionally represented. During the Coronation fortnight and the fortnight afterwards, we were the recipients of every possible courtesy, and had every opportunity of observing what was going on.

The Coronation fortnight proper extended from the 19th to the 30th of June last year. During that fortnight London was indeed *en fête*; there was a constant succession of ceremonies and social events. But there are four events of especial interest which remain in my memory, of which I wish to speak: the crowning of the King and Queen, the royal progress through the streets of London, the Naval Review at Spithead, and—what was specially interesting to us—the giving of Coronation medals to the military contingents from the Overseas Dominions. These events have been often described; you have read of them in magazines and newspapers; all I can do is to endeavor to picture some of the scenes as they appeared to an eye witness, thus gaining perhaps the merit of a little greater vividness and reality.

On the day of the Coronation, June 22nd, all London was astir at a very early hour; the streets were early filled with people; the line of progress from Buckingham Park to Westminster Abbey was lined with soldiers and sailors; and thou-

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sands of people stood ready to cheer the King and the Queen as they passed. Those of us who were invited to be present in the Abbey were not able to see the outside demonstration, as we had to be in our seats by 8.30. We found ourselves admirably placed on the north side of the nave in the gallery where we could see everyone pass in and out, and were able under the very best conditions to see and hear everything that went on. We were given programs showing the complete order of the procession, so that we were able to know and recognize all the interesting persons as they came in one after another. By this time the Abbey was becoming gradually filled with notable people—one of the most brilliant sights ever seen. The galleries were filled with military men in their brilliant uniforms and visitors equally brilliantly clad. From the west door up to the choir screen was laid a strip of blue carpet with the arms and emblems of Great Britain embroidered on it, and up this strip came the entering processions. For the first hour we were interested in seeing the peers and peeresses arrive. They came in little groups, wearing their rich robes, and little pages carrying their crowns for them, the peeresses with their coronets on their elbows, passing to their seats in the transepts.

As the hour approached for the entrance of the Royal party, the Abbey clergy came down to the door, bearing the symbols to be used in the ceremony, the Bible, the chalice, and the paten. At half-past ten the first procession of Royal guests entered. First and foremost, the German Prince and Princess; next, the Heir Apparent of Turkey; next, the brother of the Emperor of Russia; then the brother of the Emperor of Austria; then the Crown Prince of Japan; then the Duke and Duchess of Aosta; representatives of the various reigning families of Europe, and towards the end, Prince Cheng; then two very remarkably clad individuals with peculiar tiger-skin garments,—they were Abyssinians, representing the King of that country. Then passed the Princes of the Blood Royal, led naturally by the Prince of Wales with his three younger brothers, the Princess his sister, and then all the Princes connected with the reigning family, including the Duchess of Connaught and the Princess Patricia.

Then entered the Royal Procession proper. First of all, the clergy of the realm, walking very slowly up this long blue strip, so we were able to see them as they entered; then the leaders of the orders of knighthood; and then the standards. The standards of the self-governing dominions came first, that of Canada like each of the others, being borne by a peer

of the realm; then the standard of England; next the standard of the Union, the combination of Great Britain and Ireland; and finally the Royal standard. Next came the officers of State, headed by the Prime Minister. Then the Bishops with the Bible, the chalice and the paten; then the men who bore the other emblems to be used; and finally the King himself, in his crimson robe. Just before the King had entered, the Queen came in. She had her Princesses and all those particularly attached to her person. Those who have been in the Abbey will remember that there is a long nave, and just where the nave is crossed by the transepts and the choir screen stretches across, there was an orchestra and an immense choir which Sir Frederick Bridge had been training in preparation for the Coronation events. And as the King entered by the door—practically the last of this procession—the choir sang the Hundred and Twenty-second Psalm, "I was glad when they said unto me, let us go into the house of the Lord." You can only imagine the grandeur of the scene as the full orchestra and choir joined in the magnificent psalm, while the King came slowly up the aisle preparatory to his coronation.

When the King and Queen first came in, they were seated over at the right hand side, in a comparatively inconspicuous place. But now the Lord High Constable and the Earl Marshal, mounted the dais, and stepping first to one corner, then to each of the others in turn, said to the people: "This is your rightful Sovereign by lineage, the rightful titular heir of the Crown of England; are you willing to do homage and service to him?" The people shouted three times repeated, "God save King George!" Thus it was recognized at the outset that the King rules by election and desire of his people; so the first step was the presentation of the King to the people and the reaffirmation by the people that they accepted him to rule over them.

The King having thus been received, the next portion of the service was a religious one, the full communion service of the English church. Seated where we were, we could hear with great distinctness all this service, though not all the responses of the King. It was a solemn service indeed: this was the preparation spiritual. That service ended, the King took the oath. On bended knee he swore that he would govern the British domains according to the laws of Parliament, and that he would maintain and uphold the Established church in her rights. We are accustomed to look upon the King as one who is above law, but none is more solemnly bound by oath



to observe the laws than this very King—he is a man under obligation just as much as any other man in his domain.

Then came the anointing, and the investiture with the robes, and the spurs, and the taking of the sceptres, the swords, and the orb. But the supreme moment was when the crown was placed upon his head. It was a moment I shall never forget! The Archbishop of Canterbury led the King to that historic chair on which all the Kings of England since A.D. 900 have been crowned, took the crown of King Edward the Confessor, and placed it upon the King's head. All the peers put their crowns upon their heads at the same moment. The trumpets sounded, the great guns went off at the Tower, and seven thousand subjects lifted up their voices at a common signal and shouted "God save King George!" It was an inspiring moment, and even more so when we thought that the electric button and wire sent that message to millions of other British subjects who also at that moment in all the dominions shouted "God save King George!"

Then after the coronation the King was presented with the Bible, and the benediction was pronounced. Then came the enthronization in the Imperial chair, and the homage by the Lords spiritual and temporal,—his own son on bended knee vowed fealty, and kissed him on the cheek,—the archbishops and bishops, the peers and representatives of all ranks presented their homage.

There was a crowning service for the Queen, which I need not take time for describing, as it was quite similar, only shorter. And when the Queen was crowned the peeresses placed their coronets on their heads.

Then, after having assumed the Imperial robes and gone into the chapel of King Edward for a few moments, the Royal pair passed out of the Abbey as they had entered it. The King this time wore the Imperial crown, and the purple robe; he bore in one hand the sceptre, and in the other the orb with the cross upon it, crowned and acknowledged King of all Britons throughout the world.

One could not attend and view a sight like that without having arise certain emotions, and having certain feelings more prominent than others. So when you ask me, "What was your special impression?" I would say that the impression that remained with me more persistently than any other was this, that in all that crowd in the Abbey we Canadians were present not as strangers nor as visitors, but as participators on equal terms with all of the others. We believed that at the crowning of the King we were there because we were

a part of that ceremony. The King and Queen were ours just as much as they belonged to any other section of the community. That idea ran through all the ceremony: the very invitation we received bore the emblems not only of Great Britain but also those of Canada and South Africa and Australia and New Zealand; Queen Mary as she walked up the strip of blue carpet wore her beautiful robe and the whole front of that robe was embroidered with the emblems of all these Dominions; when the King himself arrived, immediately before him were borne the standards of Canada and Australia, of South Africa and New Zealand and India, borne just before the standards of Great Britain and the Royal standard itself. So we felt we were partakers in that great ceremony, and that what the Archbishop declared when rendering homage was indeed true, that George V. and Mary were crowned King and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Overseas Dominions, and Emperor and Empress of India.

The day following there was the Royal Progress. There had been one the day previous, but that we were unable to see. The first day the King went in a covered coach from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey by the shortest way, but the second day he went in an open landau by a long route through a number of streets north and south of the river, a journey about five miles in length, so that all the people might see him and pay the tribute of their cheers as he went by. The streets were lined with soldiers, seventy-five thousand being in line; the cavalcade itself was composed entirely of mounted men. There we saw the very flower of the English army, the Royal Horse Guards with their mounted band, the Lancers, the Hussars, the Royal Field Artillery, three picked regiments from the continent, representing the splendid armies of France, Austria and Spain, and then nearly two thousand men from different parts of the Empire, Canada, Australia and India, who formed what was called the Colonial contingent. None created more enthusiasm than the Northwest Mounted Police from Canada.

From our stand in the Parliamentary enclosure, we saw the King and Queen pass through the streets of London, and thousands of happy subjects were there as they went by; all had the opportunity of paying their tribute in that way if they so desired, to their Sovereign.

The third most important event of the week was the Naval Review at Spithead, on Saturday. We had good weather for the Coronation, and fairly good for the Royal Progress, but

Saturday morning was rainy. But we had no intention of missing the review, and it was fortunate that we went, for in the afternoon the weather cleared up and it turned out a most magnificent day. Here again we were looked after in a most admirable way, were taken down by a special train, and on a special steamer under the control of the Admiralty, so we saw the Review to the best possible advantage.

When we arrived at Southampton we came down into the Solent to view the fleet. There were a hundred and sixty-seven modern British vessels of war,—battleships, cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boats, submarines,—three squadrons of the Home fleet and the Atlantic fleet, anchored within a short distance of each other for review. With the necessary sea room they made a line twenty-five miles long. Probably there never was gathered together in the history of the world a fighting aggregation that could have stood up against that group of vessels we saw there that day. We sometimes read of the fleets of Greece and Rome, but when we recognize that one of these great battleships had a tonnage equal to that of an entire fleet of those days, we have some idea of the strength of the British navy. There were twenty war vessels representing other nations of the world, ranged in line with the others.

When we came down from Southampton, before the King arrived we were permitted also to review the fleet. We passed between the parallel lines; the sailors were on deck and ranged in a line around the edge, in their blue costumes, each man with his arms on the shoulders of the man next him, so that they looked like a necklace around the vessel, a very picturesque sight. We saw the various types of vessels, the original Dreadnought, of which we have heard so much, the original Bristol, the type of protected cruiser of which the vessels of the Canadian navy are to be, the Boadicea, the depot ship, destroyers of the river type, and various other kinds. We were assigned a position on the flank, where we could see all that was going on. The Royal yacht came out of Portsmouth, preceded by four torpedo boats—long, low, dark, wicked-looking craft—and by the Admiralty yacht, which has the right of preceding the Royal vessel. As they passed each vessel, the tars gave three British cheers, and the King saluted, for the tars love the King, for he was a midshipman in the navy, as you know. Every one of the vessels, as the King passed, fired a salute of twenty-one guns; some two thousand shots were fired, and so you have no idea—I can't describe to you the noise, and the suggestion of power exhibited.



Then the admirals came and paid their respects to the King; we saw their boats come and go. The Royal yacht then went back as it had come, and again there was a salvo of artillery as the King returned to Portsmouth.

One more scene I want to speak of, which completes the quartet. The official Coronation was over, the troops were preparing to go home, the encampments were breaking up, but the King had expressed a desire to personally thank those from the various parts of the Empire who could be present in Buckingham Palace Gardens. And the King himself presented to every soldier present, some seventeen hundred in number, a medal with his own hand.

There we saw them, in every possible uniform you can imagine. The King was attended by Lord Kitchener, Lord Roberts and General French. The soldiers came up in a long line, one by one, and the King gave to each man his medal. Then they formed into fours, each group of soldiers forming by itself, and they marched in fours to the music played by the Coldstream Guards, and the entire body passed the Royal marquee, and so out of the grounds,—one of the most inspiring sights I have ever seen. There were black men, yellow men, white men, men from Hong Kong, men from the Malay peninsula, black regiments from Natal, men from different parts of the Empire, and especially from every part of India. There were the Sikhs, with long black beards, the Punjabis—spare, strong fighting men; the Goorkas, short sturdy chaps with ugly crooked knives in their belts; the Afghans with their pointed turbans; file after file, nationality after nationality, but every man wore the medal of the King. I do not think that I have ever seen a more impressive sight. Here were men of every race and nation, speaking scores of different tongues, worshipping God in many different ways, yet united by one common bond that they were soldiers of the King and wore his medal. There were many other events during Coronation week, of which I should be glad to speak, but these that I have mentioned are the four most prominent experiences and I would like to leave with you this description of them. I shall never forget the supreme moment in the Abbey when from seven thousand British throats rose the shout "God save the King." How that ancient edifice reverberated to the loud acclaim! Nor shall I forget when the King and Queen were driven along the streets of London and through the city amid the cheers of thousands of their happy subjects. Nor that wonderful naval review and the moment when the united batteries fired their salute and gave a magnificent exhibition

of protecting strength. One felt that this whole navy was at his back to protect a British subject in the remotest part of the world. A deep impression was created as we saw Colonial troops from all parts of the Empire the different features wearing various uniforms but each bearing the medal of the King upon his left breast. The underlying idea that a common loyalty bound all to the King and Queen was the strongest impression of Coronation week, and we Canadians, who had been through these experiences, came back feeling that the honors that had been conferred upon us were because we were representatives of the thousands of Canadians across the Seas. We came back to our respective places feeling that in so far as we could do so we would endeavor to tell our fellow countrymen of the welcome we had received and to impress them with the importance of bearing their fair share in the support and defence of our common Empire.

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(January 17th, 1912.)

## Settlement Work in New York.

BY DR. JOHN L. ELLIOTT.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club held on the 17th January, 1912, Dr. John L. Elliott said:

*Mr. President and Gentlemen*,—I am really to speak this afternoon on the subject of home conservation, saving up the waste products of humanity. But before I take that large theme, I want to say this, that it is a peculiar pleasure to me to be present at a luncheon of the Canadian Club, because many years ago I met a young man in New York who was, I think, instrumental in the foundation of the Canadian Club movement, a man who at the same time was one of the strongest, finest, whitest, best citizens of any country I ever met, Mr. Sanford Evans, and I bring out of my thought no memory that is more dear to me than the memory of the years that we spent together practically when students in New York city.

In speaking of human conservation, I want to start with a little figure. Where the great American desert is being made to bloom, that country where my people live, in New Mexico, when you stand on any of the many mountains a splendid panorama is offered to the eye. But a few years ago there was there only some little stream or stagnant pool, and you or I would hardly think we could live there; but to-day men more and more are living there. They would come and take up a quarter section, go and get the Government to put in a well or dig an irrigation ditch, at the cost of a few thousands of dollars, sinking a well a few thousand feet, and thus they have transformed that hard and barren land so as to form homes for a free and happy people. If ever you have looked into a great American city such as New York from a height such as the Metropolitan tower, you will have seen great stretches even more dreary and more uninviting to live in than any stretches of the great American desert. My theme is that they have to be transformed just the same. There is not human power enough, or money, or intelligence enough, that you can get to transform this human desert, save as you send down a well into the intellectual, financial, spiritual depths of the people themselves, and make the city desert transform itself.

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\*Dr. John L. Elliott, Ph.D. (Heidelberg and Cornell), is a notable authority upon social betterment work. He stands high in the Ethical Society of New York, and is a foremost leader in the Hudson Guild.



I don't know how far a man went into New Mexico carrying water in a bucket, but he would never get a farm that way, he would starve. I don't know how far a single worker could go in bettering conditions in the city, but working with the best will in the world he will never do much to affect the city desert. This has to be done by foresight in the use of money and the use of scientific method, which brings the people themselves into co-operation and uses them in transforming the city desert. Too long we have regarded the objects of philanthropy and charity merely as objects of philanthropy and charity, merely as so much material on which to work. Man has thought the main object was looking after his own advancement. He has said, "Let me go into business, law, the professions, and let the women and the weak-minded do the philanthropy and the charity." We are most of us cursed with the lack of imagination; we don't see human beings as human beings. How many of you, when you see the letter carrier walking down the street, think of him at any time as other than a letter carrier? Who ever thought of a letter carrier as getting a letter himself, opening and reading it? There is simply not the capacity for imagination: we don't enclothe that object as a man. It is that attitude that does not enclothe the settlement man or the settlement woman and think, "There is a man, a woman."

I was looking, just after my return from Europe this summer, at about five thousand people watching a moving picture exhibition. We have given these exhibitions regularly twice a week, and there are commonly five thousand people present, including about fifteen hundred children. As I looked at those fifteen hundred children sitting on the ground there, I recognized to my horror that most of them were the waste products of the human race, to be thrown on the human scrap heap. The words came to me, "Gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost." That is the command, but our societies taken as a whole do not follow it. In consequence too many go to the jail, the alms house, the asylum. What we have to do is to find some new kind of method to get at that waste product and save it.

In New York we pay \$36,000,000 for our public school system. I cannot help feeling that a very large part of that money is wasted, when we consider what the results are. Why? Take these children from the tenements. I think they get a little more than enough about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, and of German and French that they will never use. I was in a school one day where the teacher was drilling a whole class of tenement boys on the sign of the plu-

perfect! (Laughter.) She found it hard to get an answer from them, till at last an Irish boy, Ikey Einstein (Laughter), spotted the plu-perfect and the class went on with its business! The sign of the plu-perfect I am afraid they would find a weak and broken reed to lean on in time of trouble. Yet this is the kind of education so many get in our public schools. It is barbarism! The children are not taught to use their hands, but go through public school without a training to fit them for life; and when the boy climbs onto the delivery wagon the sign of the plu-perfect is completely forgotten; the girl has not the sense of independence developed.

I looked at a little girl who was looking at the pictures. The chances were all that she would be lost; at any rate she had already seen the best part of her life. Walking down Ninth Avenue I saw a youngster coming down with a woman, with his arm around her waist. I thought that here was an unusual sign of affection, but on looking again I saw that the woman was reeling drunk, and this boy, her son, was taking her home. Of course in New York City there are many saloons on the corners, and as they came near one of these the woman wanted to go in but the boy tried to dissuade her. In the argument and the struggle over it, her hat fell off, and she, in trying to recover it, fell down and rolled into the gutter. The little youngster leaned up against a lamp post and cried. I ask you, what chance has a boy brought up in that kind of home, to keep from being thrown onto the human scrap heap? I say to you, no human power can save most people, save that power which is in themselves. They must be educated, enlightened, taught to work with hand and head. People who have got on realize that people have to do something for themselves. The settlement is just a little beginning, an open door to take in everybody. It does not deal with an economic crowd, but helps people just as people.

Play is just as essential to a child as air or food, and no city in the world adequately provides for this human need. The settlement spends part of its strength in protest against this neglect,—it does teach the boy to play. It gets educational value out of play. In the second place, it tries to help boys and girls to be economically independent and able to earn a living. That is not given to most children of the poor. But the economic power that is in them! Talk about conservation of energies and resources!—the greatest undeveloped power in the West is in the people, and there are gold mines of power yet undeveloped in the masses of the people, which we have not found out which we should bring out.

I went into a club in our own place the other day, and saw two girls. The minute I saw those girls I knew they were of the fast kind, from the way they had their hair done—girls of that class will spend three-quarters of an hour dressing their hair, and ten minutes on all the rest of their toilet. They get into that sort of life partly from their lack of skill, and the hardness of factory life, and the employer too often takes the attitude that these girls are materials, tools, with which to make money; yet they are human beings! We are trying to offer them something attractive in the way of parties and dances and that kind of amusement, to get them to come where we could throw better influences about them. We give no Christmas presents, but we give each girl in our House the opportunity to bring any little children that they know, and we furnish presents for the children. It was one of the most beautiful sights I ever saw in my life when last Christmas there were these hard, difficult girls, as gentle, loving, and fine, as any girls you could find in the entire city. Somehow or other the church did not get hold of them; the school could not reach them, but generally when you ask them to help a little child, you can win them; the love of the little child will lead this world into a better world if you make the right appeal! Give even these girls and the mothers of the tenements a chance to do for the children—that motive won't fail. There never was a corrupt, bad woman in the city yet that would not work hard for her children, and in so doing become better herself. And so it is with the man. If you show him he can help his children and his wife there is scarcely a man that won't respond to any reasonable appeal that can be made. Practically any man not utterly sodden will stand by an organized work when he believes the welfare of his family, his wife and his children, are at stake.

So we are trying to get the people of the neighborhood to look after themselves; not for the reason of lifting up the fallen; not with the object of charity; but as a source of well-being. I am perfectly sure that you would find less difficulty in solving the problem of the people of the submerged tenth, that you could save them, by pointing out to them the fact that they can be of help in their neighborhood, by appealing to the vital motives within practically every human being, to save himself from mental and moral deficiency.

We have a self-governing House. I am gone from it now two weeks, but there will not be a bit of trouble; there are a man and a woman in charge who will look after affairs well in my absence. Every Sunday the House is open. There are no paid workers. We organize our neighborhood by blocks, and



are trying to get the women of that neighborhood to see that no child shall die unnecessarily in the slum. We live in a neighborhood rotten with consumption. I am sick and tired of going to the bedsides of boys and girls there and watching them die, with eyes like those of an animal caught in a trap, as I don't doubt they are dying in your own city. We seek to get people to co-operate and open the windows, to make them feel that that is part of their business. For the people in a poor neighborhood will co-operate with the Departments of the city in keeping order. We have a good Irish neighborhood; notwithstanding they co-operate with the police in keeping order (Laughter.) Of course there should not be very much talk, but mostly work—this is the doctrine of setting people to work!

Dealing with boys—I was talking to a class of boys about some one who was very unsocial, and I was trying to show them what a horrible character Nero was. It was a hot, dripping night. I told them how he burned Rome, and murdered his mother. And I asked them, "What do you think of him?" Well, it was too hot to think! I asked one boy, "You, Butsey, how do you feel towards that man?" "He never did nothin' to me," was the reply! (Laughter.) Gentlemen, it is very little use just talking, what you want to do is to put people to work! Show them an object. They will not come into any little class to hear you or me talk about Rome or the characters of history. Try hard to interest them in the work of men and women. Someone was asking what it was to be a good neighbor; one child said, "To be like Martha Washington;" another, "Like Helen Gould;" Barney answered, "Like Mary McDillon" (Magdalene), and when the teacher asked why, he replied, "She was no quitter, she never went back on her friend."

The House Committee actually governs the House. One little woman, whose husband has been sent away to be tried for murder, is here with her child; she can handle a case of inceptive tuberculosis as well as I can. I never appeal to the girls' and boys' clubs but they respond generously. Some scrubwoman will come up with a crumpled dollar bill in her hand and say to me shamefacedly, "Here is something to help, you know the people that need it." There is a great spiritual depth and power of sacrifice in these people. Everyone knows the charity of the poor for the poor. It needs education, but the power is there. I have seen nothing that more affects me on earth than that sight of the scrubwoman, ignorant, helpless, standing there wet to her knees, a bedraggled figure, yet with the wonder light of what she was doing, and what she was

doing it for. It was nothing to help her. Yet a woman will stand up to fight the world for her children. There is a depth there of moral power! There is no knowing what a woman will do for her children, when you show her how; or what a man will do for his family when you let him see how it will help them. The men and women of our neighborhood knew there was no chance for their children to bathe except in the river, where they were in danger of getting drowned, so they went to work to get a bath-house built, and to-day a \$200,000 bath is being put in. They came to realize that the park needed light, that there were dangers to their children in the dark places, and owing to their efforts lights are being put in. There among the men and women there is this social work going on, day after day, week by week.

That is what I say—you have to sink the irrigation well into the depths of the people themselves. Now two words on the value of this work. One is that of democracy. Usually we regard people in offices and shops just on the side of value, what they can do or produce; that is hardly the point of view of democracy, which regards every human being as having indefeasible worth in himself or herself. A settlement is just an attempt to bring out the worth there is in every human being—the application of the true democratic spirit to the life of a poor community we are trying to save.

Another thing: we say to the men and women, "You have to do something,—you workingman you have to do right by your family." He answers, "I have to have a chance to do right." The objection to the whole thing is, as many people in our community say, they haven't the chance to lead a moral life. Isn't that true? Go to the prisons, and you will find out. However, we are not asking for comfort for these people. Nobody is very comfortable, but the appeal is made on the side of the people of the community, that they be given a chance to live a decent life. Let this be said of any city that it dodges that question, that it denies to a number of its people the right to lead a moral life. I don't think that any community can dare to dodge that question.

There is an old fable which tells of a party of men lost in the desert. One of the oldest of them, seeing that they were in danger of perishing for lack of water, walked off by himself to look if he could find any signs of water anywhere. He saw a little plant, and coming back to the party said to a young man, "Dig there; you will find that where a plant is there is water." He dug, but did not for some time find anything, but at last came to a rock, and the older man laid his ear to it and heard a rushing and gushing. He told the young fellow to

take up the stone, and there under it they found water, and were saved. Out of my eighteen years of experience, I point to the little results I have seen in the life of the poor, and I say, "Dig there—you will find water."

I was in one of the cheapest theatres—a place where they cried, screeched or hollered for a prize of the value of about \$3,—you can smoke there, but you can't breathe! and if you don't like the actor or singer you may shout out your disapproval—it is the original place of "Get the hook!"—all of a sudden I began to feel better, for I saw that one of those actresses on the stage had commenced to sing a song which everybody knew, and instead of the lack of interest that had marked them before, all that great audience was joining in the chorus, not each one trying to force his voice above that of others but rather to keep it below; the whole company was singing that simple song. To me it was like the music of a choir, not like the music which signifies foolishness. It comes as an echo out of the people themselves, that which is the real music. And so as I go back to live among these people it seems, though the neighborhood is sodden, and drunk, and rotten with horrible disease, I know, sometime or other, though these things flourish in every city under God's sun, there is a power there that, if we can only get at it day by day, will save these poor wrecks of children, such as you have in your own city—for they are here too. Will that method be followed? Will that power become the source that can redeem our communities? Answer, O years to come! Answer, Canada! Answer, this city! Answer, you! (Applause.)

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(January 22nd, 1912.)

## Canada's Foreign Relations.

BY PROFESSOR E. J. KYLIE.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club, held on January 22nd, 1912, Prof. Kylie said:

Canada was long the Thibet of North America, but of late years her isolation has been rapidly broken down. Our extending trade alone brings us each year into more intimate contact with foreign countries, not merely with Great Britain and the United States, but with China and Japan, with India and Africa, and with the countries of the Mediterranean Sea. This growing trade requires an increased amount of shipping—per head of the population our shipping is greater than that of our neighbours to the south—vessels conveying our merchandise defile through every channel and enter every harbour on the globe. The industrial and commercial activity which finds expression in this increasing foreign trade is in turn fed from outside sources. We must prime our pump with borrowed capital. This comes, of course, largely from Great Britain and the United States, but Turkey takes a place in the ranks of our creditors, and the maid-servants of Belgium are among the most persevering investors in our securities. I am not seeking to alarm you as to the magnitude of our debts. Sheridan was once asked if the thought of his debts kept him awake at nights; he replied that it should keep not him but his creditors awake. But I do ask you to realize that our credit is another link binding us to the outside world. More powerful, however, than these financial ties is the tie of blood holding us united with every community from which our immigrants come, not merely with the United States and Great Britain, but with Sweden, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Portugal, and China, and India, and Japan. In every case but those of India and Japan, we are taking a large tribute each year from these foreign states—the Austro-Hungary immigration last year totalled 16,285; the Italian, 8,350; the European immigration was more than half as large as the British or American; over

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5,000 Chinese came in 1910-1911 to keep us clean, making 11,324 altogether in Canada. The Japanese are forced by their own government to stay at home; there remain, however, some 13,128. The native of India we are holding back. I need scarcely say that by doing so we may stir to the depths multitudes of our fellow-subjects in the East—yet we can scarcely open our gates—we have enough unassimilable elements already. However sympathetic we may be towards the Sikhs, we may well hesitate to create blackmen's or yellowmen's labour here, or to bequeath to future Canadians the poor white and the half-caste. But it is unnecessary to dwell upon this aspect of the matter. I have said enough to prove that we are linked with foreign states by reason either of the citizens we accept or of those we turn aside.

These are some of the forces creating our foreign relations. We have next to inquire what machinery and what powers we possess for dealing with them. We have a foreign office efficient as far as it goes, and capable of safeguarding our interests, as appeared in the recent sealing negotiations. We have an extensive service of Trade Commissioners which, I am told, might be in many ways improved; we receive foreign consuls who discharge semi-diplomatic functions, and lastly, we make our own treaties and agreements affecting commerce or waterways. At this point our facilities and powers come to an end, perhaps I should rather say before this point, for even in the case of commercial negotiations we take overworked ministers from their desks and despatch them abroad to deal with officials and ministers who have a complete foreign and consular service at their command, or we send a Postmaster-General to Japan to secure the restriction of Japanese immigration, a course more suitable to the comic opera stage than to the everyday world. This is not a party matter; we should have to do the same to-day. But in larger matters we have not even this degree of influence, in matters of war and peace. Sir Edward Grey, at the head of the British Foreign Office, determines our foreign policy. He holds our lives and fortunes in the hollow of his hand, and last summer, when most of us were thinking of golf and holidays, he might have plunged us into war. It was to rescue the country from such a situation that some people brought forward the theory of colonial neutrality. I need not point out that the phrase itself is a contradiction in terms—no colony can be neutral—but the idea arose from the distinction between actually engaging in war and being at war.

We may not send troops to the Indian frontier, but we are actually at war when Great Britain is at war and are looked upon as an enemy by any enemy of Great Britain. International law recognizes no alternative. Hence, while we act as an independent state in making commercial treaties, we have no freedom of action where large issues are at stake. We cannot defend the lives and interests of our citizens abroad, as you will have noticed in this morning's papers. We must fall back upon the British Foreign Office, and ultimately upon the British navy. But the flaw in our citizenship is even greater than this. We offer to our new population merely "maimed" rights; the American, the Swede, or Italian, who takes out naturalization papers in Canada, finds his Canadian citizenship limited to our shores—once he leaves Canada he becomes an American, a Swede, or Italian. Probably most of these people remain here, but even then they may hesitate to lay down broad rights and privileges in return for the restricted rights and privileges which we can bestow. As you are aware, the whole matter was taken up at the last Imperial Conference and the basis of an Imperial Act agreed upon. Having framed the measure the Imperial Government submitted it to our Government last summer, but received no answer; it wrote again in November, but received no answer. Nothing can illustrate better our indifference to external affairs even when they penetrate it, if I may use the term, to the very heart of our commonwealth.

These are some of the difficulties in the present situation. No one is to blame for them; they have simply been the result of our growth. Nor can we hope under any system to escape from all difficulties and anomalies. Yet it is good policy when a certain set of anomalies is brought to our attention and is proved to be particularly irksome and inconvenient, to remove them, to push on a stage. In that empirical way British institutions have developed. I am the more convinced that these anomalies must be removed when I consider the reason why we do not remove them. There may be found, on occasion, grounds which justify inaction—they cannot be found in this case. We plead that we are developing our resources. We are, it is true, borrowing capital, and getting rich by a clever use of it, but the fact would serve as an excuse only if we were a thrifty and saving people. We are notoriously wasteful and extravagant; the money sunk in some of our public works would set up a foreign service. And the real danger is always present that those who are stooping constantly to pick up wealth, will become so bent and stooped



that they cannot straighten themselves up to face the world. They will but develop a sort of moral lumbago. There is a certain value in material development, but you can never bring up a virile race on box-cars and canals. The second reason for indifference is more powerful and more interesting; we are jealous of our autonomy, and fear that if, to determine our foreign relations we joined a league of British dominions it might in some way be jeopardized. It is true that we struggled for self-government, but we have secured it; no one wishes to take it from us. Of course, the existence of colonial autonomy is hard to establish—some one here may have wondered if he could choke himself to death—but the only possible proof would have awkward consequences. Still, if Canada wished to assert her independence to-morrow, no one would declare war upon her; there can be no American civil war within the British Empire. The whole situation is unthinkable. I assume, therefore, that we enjoy autonomy, and that as an autonomous state we can decide upon our destiny. We urge as the last plea in our own behalf that we have no interest in these foreign complications and wars, that we wish this continent to stand for peace. But my whole argument has been calculated to prove that we are concerned with things abroad; we are certainly concerned with China and Japan and India when we keep out their people; we need open and safe sea-routes, we need the open door in the East, but these sea-routes and the open door depend upon the European balance of power, so that the silent and bloodless struggle which goes on in the North Sea determines the security and peace of the world; even the Monroe doctrine, and American control of the Panama Canal depend upon the preservation of the equilibrium in Europe. We have been advised to keep out of the vortex of European militarism. Unfortunately the vortex is coming to us. China, Japan and Germany and the United States, are all bringing it upon us. The truth is that as long as certain issues between black and white, white and yellow, races are unsettled, states must remain on their guard. You are devoted to the cause of peace. I never know how much of our love of peace is love of our pockets, but probably a great part of it is genuine; in any event, we must not hide it under a bushel; if we have high ideals, if we have a gospel to preach, we must set our ideals up before men, we must proclaim the gospel to the world. Even to maintain peaceful relations with our neighbours we shall need the full equipment of a civilized nation. I think it may even be contended that the maintenance of peace will require

more delicate and far-reaching international systems than the present order demands. It is not necessary that you should understand the power which you expect to fight—a few prejudices and antipathies are a better preparation—but you must understand its position and politics thoroughly, if you are to keep peace with it.

I have tried to prove that we have foreign relations and that they require adjustment—Canada cannot travel much longer on a child's ticket. I shall be asked at once how they are to be adjusted. My only answer is that they must be studied and understood before any satisfactory scheme for their settlement can be arrived at. Study is what we need at this juncture. I am not here to give tips to statesmen. It is clear, however, that we must either join in an effective league of British dominions or set up as an independent state. You will not go far into the subject without finding yourself at the meeting of these two ways. And in justice to ourselves we should appoint a non-partisan delegation representing mainly the Dominion Parliament, but also other interests in the country, and have it meet similar delegations from the other British states in a convention where the whole matter of defence and foreign relations could be properly settled. The present situation may easily prove expensive and dangerous. That matters least of all—for we can foot the bills—what matters is that it is inconsistent with the dignity and honour of a high-spirited people. We cannot be content with a narrow and stunted existence, we cannot feed on the crumbs from other people's tables, we cannot fail to impress our hopes and ideals upon the world, we cannot turn aside from those burdens and responsibilities which the best races have carried so far on the road.

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(January 29th, 1912.)

## English World Literature.

BY PROFESSOR RICHARD GREEN MOULTON.\*

A T a regular meeting of the Canadian Club held on January 29th, 1912, Professor R. G. Moulton said:

Mr. President, there is something I specially like about the hospitality of the Canadian Club, and it is that, if I understand you rightly, you invite people to be your guests, not merely those who are competent to advise with you upon questions specifically Canadian, but also representatives of any and most diverse aspects of culture and public life. It seems to me to be the very limit of hospitality when you invite a man here, not to talk your shop, but his own shop.

So I am to speak to you to-day about literature, and literature from the educational side. And I want to take the opportunity of so broadminded a representation of public opinion to say to you that I think our study of literature is on the eve of revolution, or rather let me substitute another word, on the eve of evolution. It is at any rate a change so wide-reaching and pervading, that I am accustomed to express it to myself by saying that the study of literature is about to begin. This sounds strange to some people, who think rather that the study of literature is about to end, now we have silenced another subject so much more practical. I answer, where can you find anything that can be called, in anything like an adequate sense the study of literature? When I look at the universities and the colleges and the private schools and the culture in these, what I say is this: here you see the study of people in combination with that of the English language; in another class room it is taken in connection with Greek literature, in a third, other things are combined with literature, in another French literature is taken up, in another German literature, and so on. Everywhere, where you see literary study, you find literature mixed up with a number of other things; they are reading history that may be, but certainly not literature. And

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\* Dr. Richard Green Moulton, of Chicago University, is a distinguished graduate of Cambridge University, where he was one of the founders of the University Extension Movement. He is widely known, both in England and America, as an authority on English literature, and as a lecturer of remarkable brilliancy.



what is worse still, it is never the study of literature with the large L, it is some part of literature,—English, German, Greek, Latin.

How different this is from what prevails with other studies! What would you think of the study of philosophy, if only there were a thing corresponding to the term, if people understood it in English, and read English philosophy, or Greek philosophy, or German philosophy? You understand instinctively that philosophy is a thing in itself, that it has a method, a field, and a history of its own. The whole thing is not the sum of the individual parts. In fact the study is not born, at least it has not come of age, in respect of the recognition of the unity of the field which it treats of. There was a time, when it was recognized that the fact that a man knew his Hebrew poetry was considered sufficient, he was not expected to know about Greek or French. But people began to see points of resemblance and difference, and comparative language study grew up. It was recognized that all language was one, and the study of language came of age. There was a time when the professor of ancient history was not on speaking terms with the professor of mediaeval history or the professor of modern history. Now it is seen that history is all one, the ancient leads to mediaeval and mediaeval to modern, and that is what makes the scientific study of history. The astronomer, the astrologer, the physicist, the psychologist are all perfectly conscious that their study is one and the same of the thing which they call nature.

But meanwhile it looks as if the humanities side of education had been constructed in water-tight compartments; that English was separate from Greek, and Latin, and German, and French, and the Oriental languages. The idea that literature is one is not reflected in our various studies. Now how comes it that literary study, the foremost of our studies, is so backward in taking its rightful place? I think the reason of it is the vastness of it. You see, in literary study, the smallest thing is incomplete in itself. You can't study literature in one poet. You can't study Shakespeare by reading the extracts in a Shakespeare Birthday Book! (Laughter.) If the smallest unit then is a complete work, the whole question comes to be not that of one literature but all literature of all the people of the world. The thing seems vast, impracticable, out of reach.

Just here is the change of spirit which I think is coming over the study, which reflects itself, as all such changes, in a technical term: we are beginning to talk of World Literature. This is not the same as universal literature; that could mean

the sum total of all the literatures of all the world. But World Literature is this universal literature seen in perspective, from a given point of view, preferably a national point. The difference between the two things is something like the difference with which physical geography on the one side and landscape art on the other side would deal with the same particulars. Here we have to deal with a mountain ten thousand feet high, a lake a quarter of a mile across, and a pond of modest, indefinite extent; if physical geography is to take cognizance of this landscape and express it, it must look at these features in their exact dimensions; but when the landscape painter portrays it the vast mountain now becomes a point of snow in the distance, and had it been less than ten thousand feet high it would have been invisible, while the pond occupies the centre of the canvas, and the lake is a streak in the distance just on the horizon: the whole is seen, but in perspective from a given point of view. In the same way, World Literature is universal literature seen in perspective. World Literature then to an Englishman is different from World Literature to a Japanese: Shakespeare, who looms in the foreground to the Englishman, is a foreign curiosity scarcely discernible, to the Japanese. Moreover World Literature is not the same to the Englishman as to the Frenchman, though it is more nearly so than in the case of the Englishman and the Japanese. It is simply the proportion of parts which is changed.

This idea of World Literature as depending on perspective from a given point of view is the foundation of the coming change. You see the vastness of the thing is no barrier to the clear conception of it. The map of America is just as intelligible as the map of Toronto: once you admit perspective, the vastness ceases to be an obstacle.

I like to consider World Literature from the point of view of English-speaking peoples, because the pedigree of English-speaking people is so clear-cut. We are the product of two forces, the combination of which has made us just what we are. These forces are described by the terms Hellenic and Hebraic. The Hellenic element is that which produced the civilization of the Greeks; the Hebraic is not Hebrew, but the perpetuation of Hebrew literature reflected in what we call the Bible. These things have influenced us, and these are our two ancestral lines. Our art, science, philosophy, politics, these are no more than the continuation of the processes commenced for us by the Greeks; but when you come to our spiritual nature, we have nothing in common with the Greeks: we have taken it from that Hebraic civilization which is re-

flected in the Bible. It is the coming together of these two forces which makes our history. At first the Hellenic and Hebraic elements work out their life independently, and the two things came together first in the conquests of Alexander the Great, and these conquests forced Hellenic civilization upon the whole world, therefore upon the Hebrews, and Palestine became Hellenized. Hence the importance of St. Paul, a combination of the Hellenic and the Hebraic. The next point when they came together was during the time of the Roman Empire, when the Hellenic civilization was grafted upon the Biblical tree, but the combination was still imperfect. There needed the third contact, which was in the Renaissance when the complete literature of the Greeks and the Bible came together. The Renaissance was the gateway through which we entered into the full enjoyment of those two elements of Hellenic and Hebraic civilization which during our whole history were coming together.

What is wrong in our study of the humanities is that we have been trying to study these elements separately. We have confused two things that are entirely distinct, the history of England—that is one thing,—and the history of English civilization, which is quite another thing. When Julius Caesar was invading England, and English stock was so mixed up among the tribes of Europe, that, some think, was the first faint beginnings,—at that time was the advent of English civilization; but it had been in existence a long time, the foundation stone had been laid centuries and centuries before, when in distant Mesopotamia Abram set out upon that most original of all missions to found a people, which should by the distinction not of birth or race or language but by its spiritual mission, last to the end of time. Another foundation stone of English civilization was laid in the same period, when the Greek poets and dramatists, who thought only of competing with each other, were establishing the fundamental principles of taste in poetry, to remain to the end of time. A third foundation stone was laid when Socrates and the Sophists of his time consciously were laying down the logic of mental processes. So when Hengist and Horsa invaded the island of Britain the civilizations were coming together of the Roman Empire and of the Christian religion, and the foundation was laid of the universal church which was at the same time the universal State. You are till now reading English history as beginning with the introduction of Christianity at the Roman conquest of England. By the introduction of Christianity into England, England was plunged into the universal Church. It



became the heir of twenty centuries. By the Norman conquest England was plunged into the European commonwealth, represented by the whole of civilization. The succeeding stages of the history of England show England gradually differentiating itself from the rest of Europe, adding the treasure of its own individuality to the history of Europe. You may have read history, but it has been the history of England with nine-tenths of that history left out. Our common education has been confusing two things, the history of England and English civilization. How much more perfectly this applies to the study of literature! The age of any literature reflects the national history, but world history reflects the history of civilization. There is a better way of putting it: I like to say that world literature is the autobiography of civilization. The historian who is a biographer can only analyze from the outside. The most he can do is to give us an anatomy, a physiology of what he treats of, but world literature is the history of civilization as presented by itself from the inside in a series of brilliant moments. This issue I put to you is the difference between English literature and English world literature. I say it is more important for our culture that we should know Homer than Chaucer or Dryden. We all want to know Shakespeare, but you can't understand Shakespeare's drama unless you know Greek. But just as classical literature is one foundation stone, so also is that of the knowledge of the Bible. It is a lop-sided culture that tries to stand awkwardly on the one side of culture. "English history you see in our own literature," you say. By all means: what has been done by the English has been written and expressed by our own English writers. But literature which equally is inspired came from men who have inspired us. The true English literature is the literature which has been absorbed by English civilization from all over the world. The genius of Fitzgerald has brought it about that the Rubaiyat is more English than Persian. The genius of William Morris has worked on the writings of the Scandinavian and Norse people and brought together the southeast and the Northwest, enabling us to see the world's fresh simplicity coupled with the sombre afternoon of the grey Norse poem in Sigurd the Volsung. Translators, men of the type of Arthur White, Gilbert Murray, Benjamin Richards—their work is to transplant the best of other literatures and make it flourish in our soil. By the enterprise of publishers you can now purchase a dozen world classics for the price of a popular novel.

This is the issue I want to put before you: the difference between English Literature and English World Literature. I

have thought that the issue should interest the Canadian Club. (Applause) because it seems to me that it is a distinction which can be paralleled in other walks of life. It seems to me that the distinction between English Literature and this English World Literature is something like the difference between a man, say an Englishman, living in England, and trying to know and do his duty as an Englishman without knowing anything about any country but England, and the same man who, without forgetting that he is an Englishman, remembers also that he is a member of the British Empire, a world organization, composed of parts as distinct from each other as Canada and Australia, in regions of the world and containing people as distinct as those of India and South Africa, but each with the same problems which it works out with freedom and independence, but aided by the strength that comes from a world-wide outlook. The difference between English Literature and English World Literature is like the difference between England and the British Empire. Therefore I think I am justified in presenting this issue for your consideration. I therefore say, in conclusion, as I said in the beginning of my address, that the true study of Literature is about to begin!

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(February 5th, 1912.)

## Commercialism and Idealism.

BY PROFESSOR FRANCIS G. PEABODY.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club, held on February 5, 1912, Professor Francis G. Peabody said:

*Mr. President and "Brethren,"*—(Laughter).—I shall not occupy a moment of your time with the amenities of this occasion, for my position is that of a certain minister who, on asking one of his congregation what he should preach about, received the reply: "It does not make much difference what you preach about, if you preach about twenty minutes." I must congratulate your President, however, on his remote connection with President Dunster, who in the early days of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was ejected from the President's house—with his wife, as the record says, "sick, and his children extremely so,"—not because he was derelict in his duty, but because he had fallen into the briers of Antipaedobaptism! (Laughter).

I must congratulate myself further, gentlemen, that while, as I think, you made a mistake about commercial reciprocity, you still permit reciprocity in ideas. (Hear, hear). I am told that customs officers are perturbed at the possibilities of aerial navigation, owing to the difficulty of stopping aviators from smuggling prohibited goods. Fortunately, they never can hinder this interchange of friendship, as it passes from land to land by the aerial navigation of the spirit. I have heard once or twice since I have been in the Dominion, citizens of the United States described as Americans. I do not fancy the term. It may be a philological necessity, but it does not represent a continental idea. We are all Americans, gentlemen, sharing this vast continent, with kinship of tradition and of ideals, and as I take up the subject of to-day, I think of us as allied in purpose and hope, with the same problems to face and the same ends to achieve. (Applause).

And what is the supreme issue confronting this new civilization which, on both sides of the line, we share? It is the issue between the principles of commercialism and the prin-

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\* Dr. Francis G. Peabody is Professor of Sociology at Harvard University. He is a profound student of social problems, and has exerted a wide influence in his specially chosen field of research and effort.



ciples of idealism. We are, on both sides of our boundary, commercial peoples. Most of the gentlemen before me, I assume, are occupied most of their time in making money, in advising others about making money, or in spending money. And there is nothing discreditable about money-making. On the contrary, most persons are rarely better employed than when they are engaged in procuring for themselves, or those whom they love, a competency. Industrialism is not commercialism. Commercialism is the spirit which would weigh all goods and all goodness by money values. Commercialism, for example, speaks of a "good" marriage, when there may be nothing good about it except the income. Commercialism speaks of a "successful" man, when in reality the man's life may be a failure. Commercialism fancies itself to own things, when in reality it is owned by them. Now some observers of this continent have expressed the opinion that this continent is incurably affected by the spirit of commercialism. A German political economist of great distinction says, for example: "The Americans, from oldest to youngest, hurl themselves into the chase of the dollar. Their life is all hustle, speculation, win or lose!" and he narrates how a German traveller in Chicago was at a reception planned for him, and as he was standing by the side of his host, was told the number of millions each Chicago guest possessed.

Commercialism, therefore, is a recognized malady of our civilization. "Ill fares the land," (Goldsmith says), "To hastening ills a prey; where wealth accumulates and men decay."

And, centuries before, the Prophet said: "Where there is no vision, the people perish." And wherein lies the chief peril of commercialism? It lies in its possible destruction of idealism. History abounds in the story of great nations which had possessions thrust upon them, and then lost their grasp upon the leadership of the world because they lost their idealism. Persia, Egypt, Rome, became derelicts on the ocean of time; while Greece and Judaea still carry, like seaworthy vessels, the precious cargoes of the ideals of the world!

No sooner, however, does one set before himself this peril of commercialism in a continent-conquering civilization, than he is confronted by an opposite fact. The same continent which is thus the scene of unprecedented commercialism, is also marked by an unconquerable spirit of idealism. Canada is a monument of missionary zeal. Parkman, in describing the beginnings of Quebec, asks: "Is this a romance of Christian chivalry, or is it true history? It is both." Across the great stretches from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, from the

days when Cartier on the festival of St. Lawrence gave its name to your mighty river, and Champlain set up his "Habitation de Quebec," the spirit of romance, and chivalry, found its way across the spaces of the North; and your scrambling, striving, struggling, commercial democracy still bears the ineffaceable traces of this hereditary idealism. It is the same in the United States. English Pilgrims exiling themselves for conscience sake, gave its character to New England; Moravian missionaries sang their hymns in the forests of the Alleghanies; the Society of Friends founded a commonwealth in the name of William Penn and a city in the name of "Brotherly Love." The heritage of idealism characterises large sections of my country and plays a large part in our national and international affairs.

Thus we are confronted, both in this country and in the United States, with these two opposing forces, and the problem presented to the United States, as to you, is this: Is it possible to gain the whole world and not forfeit one's soul? Can we own a continent, and still own ourselves? Will the ideals of national life perish before the attack of commercialism? The answer to this problem is not to be found by running away from our civilization. There are people who in the interests of idealism abandon democracy. They withdraw themselves to the picturesqueness and charm of Europe, and a very pitiful company they are. They draw their income from commercialism, and spend their days in the imitation of a foreign idealism. No! Out of the heart of things as they are, out of the conditions of the democracy in which we live and want to live, we must re-establish our idealism. And I may point out two considerations which fortify one's faith as he turns thus to our future. In the first place, the very magnitude of the problems which present themselves to our American continent to-day tend to produce the spirit of idealism. No man can live in this country without thinking widely, broadly, continentally. You have to consider in your personal affairs the large interests of transcontinental traffic, of national tariffs, and international politics. A large environment calls for a large man, and no man in your circumstances can do a large business who has not the vision of the things that are to be. A distinguished American banker has recently warned the business world against theorists, and commended what he calls practical men. But the word "theorist" does not, in fact, mean what this critic supposes. *Theoria*, in its Greek sense, means nothing but seeing, and the theorist is he who sees things as they really are, or—as Matthew Arnold said of

Sophocles—"sees things steadily and sees them whole." In a world like ours, of vast possibilities and untouched resources, what is needed more than this kind of theorist? The great West of Canada would have still been a sterile plain if its possibilities had not been seen by some men of vision. Doers we have in plenty, but what we need is seers. The most practical man to-day is the theorist. The man most serviceable to expanding commercialism is the visionary.

This is one aspect of the case, and to this I must add one other fact. It is the obvious and extraordinary fact that to people like ourselves, who have learned to conquer a continent and subdue it, there have now been presented a series of social and public problems in which no other guidance can be had than the principles of idealism. What we call the labor question, with all its complications of tragic conditions, is essentially not a question of profits and wages, but a question of justice and peace. On its surface it is a mere matter of distribution, or hours, or organization. But no one can interpret the question who does not hear, within these economic problems, a human cry for justice, equality, compassion, fraternalism, a human way of life. Even the program of revolutionary socialism, which in its form is a demand for economic chance, is in its motives and force a movement of idealism. The economics of socialism may be—as I think they are—impracticable and illusory, but no economic argument is likely to check the Socialist agitation. Real opposition can be brought about only by a saner, more rational, more convincing idealism, which may give to this striving, struggling world a new ideal of social brotherhood, responsibility and peace.

I hesitate to touch upon your own affairs, of which I must speak with reserve, but I cannot help thinking that in the late decision concerning reciprocity, while there were reasons of an economic nature which seemed enough to justify the great refusal, there were non-economic reasons which determined your decision. Was there not heard throughout the Dominion a summons to national pride, an appeal to national unity, which may have been a determining factor in the vote? At any rate, it is certain that on our side of the line a politician, who hopes to have any permanent leadership with the people, must make, or pretend to make, his appeal to the conscience of the people. He must convince us that the issue he represents is between right and wrong. In short, he knows that the American people are at heart idealists, and that his hold on power is proportionate to his hold on the popular conscience.



In the face of conditions like these we may regard the future of the issue which I am now considering, not with despondency but with hope. If it be true that, "where there is no vision the people perish," and if it be true that on both sides of the line it is realized that, to be effective, appeals must be made to the moral conscience of plain people, then the great days of American Democracy are to be found not in some golden past, but in years yet to come. Some of you, no doubt, have stood at Geneva, on the bridge where two rivers meet. One is the Rhône, which has flowed quietly from pasture lands, a broad, clear stream; the other is the Aar, a turbid, glacial torrent, full of the melting snows. For a moment, as one looks over the bridge, the turbid torrent of the Aar seems to overwhelm the Rhône; but soon the glacial torrent sinks to the bottom of the larger stream, and the Rhône flows unpolluted on its way. So meet the forces of commercialism and idealism in our American life, and as one looks over the bridge of time it seems as if the future might be a turbid stream. Steadily, however, let the primitive springs of our history send down their clear supply of idealism, and the turbid torrent sinks beneath the clearer stream, and the Rhône of our Democracy will flow to the ocean of its destiny unvexed and free. (Applause.)

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(February 9th, 1912.)

## Civic Improvement and Beautification.

BY MR. GEORGE RETTIG.\*

AT a special luncheon of the Canadian Club, held on Feb. 9th, Mr. George Rettig said:

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—* When three societies like the Canadian Club, the Toronto Horticultural Society and the Civil Guild, are all interested in accomplishing one object, some good results must surely be obtained. The Slogan, "Beautify Toronto," gave me a false impression. I find that you already have a beautiful city and are merely attempting to make it still more so. All of my time this evening might be used in telling you of what a good impression Toronto has made upon me, but that is not what you want. I must say, though, that your street lighting system is wonderful. But not until all the tall poles have been removed from the streets will the lamps show to the best advantage. Cleveland is not going to be held up to you as a model to-night, but both cities are so similarly situated that what has been done there may be of interest to you.

The serious work of beautifying Cleveland started about seventeen years ago when a non-political Park Commission was appointed, who wisely engaged a landscape architect from Boston to make a report and a general plan for a park system to encircle the city. Seven years later, through the efforts of politicians who hated to see such a large organization outside of politics, the Commission was declared illegal and went out of existence, but not until so much good work had been done that our present system was well established. It added 1,275 acres of park land, mostly improved, to the 225 acres existing in 1894. During the eleven years following that time only about 355 acres have been added, and not very much work of a good nature has been done.

A park engineer, trained in the work, had charge of the improvements, but he was let go with the Commission. Since that time no engineer has had charge of this work who has had any previous park training. Under the old

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\* Mr. George Rettig is well known as a landscape architect in the United States, and has initiated and carried out some excellent plans for the improvement of the park and street systems of Cleveland, Ohio.

Commission, bridges were designed by one of the best architects in Cleveland, and they are works of art, but some of the later designs, made by men unsuited to the work, are far from good. Natural beauty has been destroyed by engineers who are not artists, and results in general have been so unsatisfactory that the very best men have lost interest and confidence and have withheld further financial aid. Mr. J. D. Rockefeller gave one million dollars and was prepared to do a great deal more, but he has refused any further donations. Every two years an election for Mayor is held and every employee, from the park laborer to the highest official, is quite sure that if the party in power is defeated he will lose his position. No work can be planned for the future, as there is so little assurance that the one designing it will carry the work to completion. Another man may not approve of the work and may start all over again.

In the year 1900, Mr. J. H. McBride, President of the Park Commission, conceived the idea of grouping our proposed municipal and county buildings with a new Union Station on our lake front. While making the drawings, I could not help feeling that it was too great an undertaking to be ever fulfilled, as the proposed site was expensive city property, in some cases occupied by tall buildings. The Chamber of Commerce approved the design and started an agitation which resulted in a "Board of Supervising Architects" being employed to supervise the work. Messrs. Carrere and Brunner, of New York, and Mr. Burnham, of Chicago, men who had studied these problems, were selected. They have greatly enlarged the original plan. Two of the buildings are now occupied and the foundation of a third one has been laid. Almost all the land required for the complete plan has been purchased. The total cost is to be about \$20,000,000.

The Chamber of Commerce Group Plan Committee, which worked to obtain these results, has now been changed to a "Committee on Municipal Art and Architecture," and is composed of members in the architectural, engineering, legal and medical professions, together with a sculptor and some of the leading merchants and manufacturers. I have also the honor of being a member of this committee. Through the courtesy of the City Government, plans of proposed buildings and other improvements undertaken by the city are submitted to the committee for approval, with the result that considerable improvement has been obtained in several designs.



The start made on our Group Plan has awakened an interest in a general scheme for improving the entire city. The Mayor last year appointed a City Planning Commission composed of business and professional men, but they had no funds at their disposal and no legal power and have as yet done no actual work. I do not know whether the newly elected Mayor will continue this committee or not.

At a joint meeting of the City Planning Commission, the Committee on Art and Architecture and the City Hall Commission, held to discuss this subject, I recommended that the engineering department of the city make a survey of actual conditions in Cleveland, showing districts which required attention for sanitary, transportation, and other reasons, and including all information which would be desirable to produce a basis to work from, instead of accepting a proposition by an expert to furnish a bird's-eye view of a general plan of beautification at a cost of \$30,000. After the survey had been made, a local man could work out several schemes in a general way with the help of committees interested in the work. He should be a man with ideas of his own, who could grasp the thoughts of others and work them up in presentable shape. After all this had been done, the very best talent obtainable should be called in to make the final plan, and this seems to me to be a good plan to recommend to Toronto.

The first consideration should, of course, be health, obtained by not allowing congestion or unsanitary districts, (if there are any), to remain, and by providing adequate transportation facilities for the workers in your mercantile and manufacturing districts, so that they may reach desirable residence localities cheaply and quickly. A system of diagonal streets is needed, but your Civic Guild has already considered that.

It seems to me that the local business men are the ones best able to judge what streets need widening and where traffic congestion must be relieved. They can lay the foundation of a plan which must require an expert to perfect. The plan should provide not only for existing conditions, but also for the needs of a city of a million.

All this can be done now better than when your city was laid out, as at that time no one could foretell the direction of growth of the various industries. They have now become so well established that growth can be controlled. When Cleveland started seriously to consider a general plan for beautification, I visited, at my own expense, a great many

foreign cities, in England, France and Germany, and also Vienna, to fit myself to understand the problems better.

Germany, where I remained the longest time, has been obliged to do more of this work than some other countries because of its extremely narrow streets. I could speak the language and had letters to officials, thereby procuring much valuable information. One city, Strassburg, through an arrangement with a land company, was tearing down buildings for an improvement which would cost \$3,000,000 but would not cost the citizens one cent, as the company which took over the land paid for the improvement out of the profits which would be obtained from the sale of the remaining property. The prices the company would charge were restricted.

The limited time at my disposal prevents my speaking of other important questions connected with this subject, such as your water front and proposed boulevard along the valleys of the Humber and the Don, where nature has been so very kind to you, and the playgrounds, which should be within easy reach of every child in the city. Instructors to teach them how to play. The boy who has always been out for himself finds that he becomes one of a team who must work together, that others are relying on him to do his part for the general good, and that some questions must be decided by an umpire. This must help him to understand the question of good citizenship when he grows older.

Greater toilet facilities for men and women should be provided. Physicians all agree that lack of these when necessary is liable to cause disease besides discomfort. But the great question is, will it pay? The great cities which have done such work are doing more. Hundreds of millions of dollars are said to be spent in Paris each year by American visitors. The park system of Cleveland, which has cost, including maintenance and interest, less than \$9,000,000, is estimated by real estate men to be worth not less than \$22,000,000, and by some as high as \$50,000,000. The value of the pleasure and health derived from our park systems cannot be estimated, neither can the increase in value of the surrounding property.

I sincerely hope that your efforts will result in keeping Toronto in the front with the other beautiful cities now engaged in work of a similar nature. Assuring you that any further information you may desire, either by mail or otherwise, will be gladly furnished, if possible, I will close and say "Thank you" to all of the gentlemen who have been so kind to me during my stay here.

(February 19th, 1912.)

## Manitoba and its Relation to Confederation.

BY MR. J. A. M. AIKINS, M.P.\*

AT a regular luncheon of the Canadian Club held on Feb. 19th, 1912, Mr. Aikins, said:

*Mr. President and members of the Canadian Club*,—I wish to thank you, sir, for your kindly words of introduction. It was well for you that the members have had a comparatively simple fare up to the present as there is a long bill before them. The president, gentlemen, in requesting me to speak, gave this as a subject—"The Inception of the Province of Manitoba, references to its discovery, settlement, and early history; growth and conditions prior to Confederation, the main reasons for and against Confederation, the results which have followed, and the part the Province now plays in Confederation, finishing up with a short recital of Manitoba's natural advantages, resources and possibilities." (Laughter.) We have, as you see, numerous courses, and if I delay on any course I ask you, Mr. President, to ring the bell and change courses.

Manitoba and the West were discovered and developed from the same causes which have led to the discovery and development of other countries—the desire and instinct to live—not merely say bare existence. People want to live comfortable, happy and prosperous lives, hence the disposition for inquiry, for adventure and acquisitiveness—to use the phrase of Sir Daniel Wilson, "hence accordingly." Henry Hudson in 1610, desiring to discover the Northwest passage to the rich eastern countries, sailed into Hudson's Bay. His discovery was the hour of his misfortune. His soldiers mutinied and placed him and six faithful sailors adrift in an open boat, on the bay where he found his grave beneath the waters. His fame is forever written on that bay which is known by his name. I trust that the name by which in its early days it was christened will not degenerate into Hudson Bay but will always remain as Hudson's to suggest the name of its great discoverer.

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\*Mr. J. A. M. Aikins, K.C., M.P., is the leader of the bar in Manitoba, if not in the whole Canadian West. He represents Brandon in the House of Commons.



But the news of his discovery became soon known in England. One of the returned mutineers taking care to shield himself, told the story there. Next year a vessel was sent out to search for the lost navigator, but failed to find him. They investigated the bay further, and for three hundred years people have sailed over it. It became important. Mr. President and gentlemen, it is to become of further and greater importance in the development and future history of the West of Canada.

Radisson and his brother-in-law, De Groselliers, were also influenced by the same spirit of enterprise and adventure. At their home in Three Rivers they saw a great quantity of furs coming from the West and their cupidity was aroused. So in 1659 they started out to discover the rich places whence came the furs, and if possible get some for themselves. Those who live in the East to-day are similarly attracted by western products, but they employ more polite methods in securing them. I shall not delay by telling you of their adventures, their narrow escapes from the Indians, their successes and their failures. In the year 1661 they went as far as the Lake of the Woods. They returned to their own country laden with furs and fame. Radisson then applied to the Governor of Quebec for a license to trade in the West. That Governor must have been an ancient politician. He said, "I will give you that license provided you share with me one-half of the profits." Radisson declined to do so and started out with Groselliers. They went as far as the Western Prairies and returning in the following year found Hudson's Bay from the land side. They came back from that trip with \$250,000 worth of furs of which the Governor promptly confiscated 90 per cent.

That confiscation led to a great historical event. That one action alienated Radisson and De Groselliers. Radisson went to France and was refused redress. He returned, and in Boston he and De Groselliers met Sir George Cartwright. He induced them to accompany him to England, and there introduced them to Prince Rupert, an adventurous spirit like themselves, who secured Royal favour, and thus was formed in 1670 the greatest monopoly the country ever had, "The company of gentlemen merchants, adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay." Shortly after Radisson and De Groselliers and others of the company set out and sailing into Hudson's Bay established Port Nelson. Those two had differences with the Governors of the company, and turning again to the French established Fort Bourbon further up the river. They then went inland and discovered the water route to the bay along the Red River, across Lake Winnipeg and then up

the Nelson River to its mouth. That became the trade route from England and the East to the centre of Canada. Sometimes when articles were wanted in the West from the East of Canada they were shipped from Montreal to England, then to Hudson's Bay and by the river route into Fort Garry.

Is it any wonder that the people of the West are not pleased when they hear the people of Ontario asking that Port Nelson and the Nelson River should be part of the Province of Ontario? We are quite willing to share with you our port on Hudson's Bay to the same extent that you share with us the western ports which properly belong to us—at Fort William and Port Arthur (laughter).

I cannot delay you with the story of Pierre Lemoine Sieur d'Iberville, sometimes called the first great Canadian. Suffice it to say that he advanced upon Fort Nelson in 1694 and took it for the French. It was recaptured by the English fleet in the following year. It went into the possession of France again in the great battle on Hudson's Bay in 1697 when Lemoine swept the English fleet therefrom. While he was celebrating the victory the French and English Commissioners were seated around a table making the treaty of Ryswick by which the French gave a large part of the territory to the English. Sixteen years later, by the treaty of Utrecht the whole of Hudson's Bay was relinquished to Great Britain, and with it the Nelson River and the whole of the great basin which it drains, including Manitoba, Saskatchewan and nearly all of Alberta.

I will not delay you with the story of that other great explorer La Verandraye. Suffice to say that in 1731 while sitting in his lonely cabin at Nipegon he dreamed of the West and of discovering it more fully. He went westward as far as the Lake of the Woods and there established Fort St. Charles, where the following year his son and a company of twenty voyageurs were murdered by the Indians. Only last year their graves were discovered. La Verandraye pressed on to Lake Winnipeg where he established a fort, thence to the mouth of the Assiniboine River where at its junction with the Red River he built a fort which he called Fort Rouge. And there the name remains to-day as part of Winnipeg. The site is now occupied by the railway and bridge of the Canadian Northern Railway. La Verandraye advanced a little further to what is now known as Portage la Prairie and established Fort de la Reine. His fur trade prospered.

Then happened the great event of 1759. Wolfe, one of the early heroes of this country whose monument ought to be erected not only in Canada but in England, captured Quebec.

As he sailed up the river in the dead of night he repeated, it is said, those words of Gray:—

“The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,  
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,  
Await alike the inevitable hour,  
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

For him it was the grave, but for England glory. British Canada became a possibility—now a Dominion which we hope will one day be the centre of the Empire and a leading nation of the world.

I shall not take time to tell you of the Northwest Company. The French fur trade declined when Quebec fell, but a number of thrifty Scots of Montreal—who had an acquisitive disposition—(a not unusual trait for them, and I suppose there are some Scotch men here, yet I make no apology) took advantage of the opportunity, formed the Northwest Company and went into opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company. The employees were mostly French-Canadians. These hardy adventurers and those of the latter company chose their wives from among the Indian women, and thus arose a race possessed of savage instincts from their mothers and some of the intelligence and perseverance of their fathers. If there is anything that ought to convince Canadians to be careful of the population coming to this country it is the story of the half-breeds and metis. They were those who in 1816 caused the uprising which led to the battle of Seven Oaks in which Governor Semple and twenty of his men were slain and Fort Douglas was razed to the ground. Those were they who caused the Red River rebellion in 1869 and 1870, and the Northwest uprising in 1885. We should be careful to whom we give possession of this country, for they will be in our democracy governors of our country.

Just a word about Lord Selkirk, a strong and enterprising man of philanthropic inclinations. He saw the crofters of the north of Scotland driven from their homes, he saw also poverty in the north of Ireland. He conceived the idea of forming a settlement of some of these in Prince Edward Island, and did so in 1803. A few years later, in 1809, he settled some in Upper Canada, and in 1811 he started one hundred men for the fertile plains of the West. There were difficulties, but he overcame them. He was opposed by the Hudson's Bay Company which had control of the west and wished to keep it as a fur preserve. Lord Selkirk to overcome this purchased a controlling share in the Hudson's Bay Company. As a result he bought from the company 116,000



square miles of land, which included the whole Province of Manitoba, part of Saskatchewan and some of the United States which we failed to keep—(laughter). The first band of Lord Selkirk's settlers arrived at Port Nelson in the fall of 1811. They spent the winter there, and the following year began the long trip to the Red River. In the beautiful month of August these first farmers climbed its banks and planted there the standard of Great Britain. There was constructed by the Hudson's Bay company Fort Douglas (where now in Winnipeg the C. P. Railway station stands) to protect the first settlers upon the prairie. They brought with them English institutions and possessed the land forever for the British Empire. The Hon. Mr. Howe said in respect of Nova Scotia, and so we may say in respect of Manitoba:

"Hail to the day when the Britons brought over,  
And planted their flag with the sea-foam still wet,  
Above and around it their spirits do hover,  
Rejoicing to mark how we honour it yet.

"Beneath it, the emblems they cherished are waving,  
The rose of old England the roadside perfumes,  
The thistle and shamrock the north winds are braving,  
The hawthorne in beauty everywhere blooms."

In 1820 Earl Selkirk died and the Northwest Company passed into the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. Some time later the settlers became dissatisfied with their autocratic government and demanded some voice in making the laws for the settlement. The council of Assiniboia was established and continued to legislate for Prince Rupert's land until the formation of the Province of Manitoba.

In 1864 overtures were made by Canada to buy out the land from the Hudson's Bay Company. It was not the big Canada of to-day, but the same aggressive spirit that moves Canadians to-day was the spirit of that little Confederation. Owing to the probability of Confederation then dawning upon the political horizon the Canadian Ministers deemed it advisable to postpone action. In 1866 while Canadians and those beside the sea were considering Confederation, an Anglo-American syndicate was formed to buy out the Hudson's Bay Company's land with the object of settling them on American lines and by American methods. The Imperial Government did not approve the scheme, and it was consequently dropped. In 1867 the British North America Act was passed. That Act, which forms the constitution of the Dominion of Canada, provided that: "It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice

of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, on addresses from the Houses of Parliament of Canada, to admit Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory, or either of them, into the Union on such terms and conditions in each case as are in the addresses expressed, and as the Queen thinks proper to approve, subject to the provisions of this Act."

The Government of Canada then purchased the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company in their lands for £300,000 and reserved to the company one-twentieth of all lands surveyed in the territory for future settlement and certain trading posts. Sir George Cartier said in moving the second reading of the act "The name of the new province will be Manitoba, a very euphonious word, meaning 'The God that speaks.' Well, let Canada's latest addition always speak to the inhabitants of the Northwest the language of reason, truth and justice." We Manitobans think we have complied with that. Manitoba has blazed the way for the other Prairie provinces in good self-government, in religious and educational institutions, and placed before the incoming people of the west true ideas of British Nationalism. We are greatly indebted to the Province of Ontario for many of these things. We cannot forget the fact that for 34 years Manitoba's Attorney-Generals, whose duty it was to direct the legislation of the Province, were Ontario barristers. For 24 years the Premiers of our Province have been Ontario born. He who is now occupying that position, is the son of U. E. Loyalist parents and was born in Prince Edward county. I would not like to say how long I wish him to remain there, some might wish otherwise—(laughter). Our judges and the members of the Manitoba bar in its earlier history belonged to the Ontario bar. They established our jurisprudence. The churches of the East sent missionaries and money to establish the moral strength of our young Province. Teachers from Ontario laid the foundation of the educational system of Manitoba. Some people in Ontario object to so many teachers going to the West. You should be thankful for the opportunity that is given you to send out well trained teachers, good, loyal, Canadians, to train the children of the thousands that are now coming in and place before them ideals of the true Canadian nationality. Indeed, in short, Manitoba is a duplicate of Ontario. In Parliament recently we heard about jointed or matched lumber for building, the two edges planed so that they fit close one into the other. Ontario and Manitoba in the building of our country are matched and jointed on the sides which meet, and well it has been. They have held against all the strain and stress which have been put upon them. I have no doubt that the good

sense and kindly spirit of our people will see to it that no greater strain will be put upon that joining. We desire to be always united.

Gentlemen, it is true there has been some little strain. By an act in 1881 the boundaries of Manitoba were extended. The extension on the east was to meet the western boundary of Ontario. A dispute arose concerning that western boundary. A case was submitted to the Privy Council. The legal representatives of Ontario, Manitoba and the Dominion, consented that not only should the western boundary be decided but that the boundary to the north of Ontario and to the south of Manitoba should also be determined. The decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council fixed the northern boundary of Ontario as being the southern boundary of Manitoba as far east as the line of longitude drawn due north from the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, that is, the line of longitude which runs, perhaps, fifty miles west of Fort William. That line of longitude was declared to be the eastern boundary of Manitoba. In 1889 Ontario with the wisdom of the wise had its northern boundary fixed by an Imperial Act. Manitoba hesitated, but in the act fixing the Ontario boundary the recital declared that the boundary between Manitoba and Ontario was the boundary so fixed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which boundary extended as far east as the line of longitude to which I have referred. Is it any wonder to you that the people of the West feel a little restless when Ontario claims that very same territory which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided was part of the Province of Manitoba. I am not so sure that the present Government may not give you some of that very territory. We will find that out later. I am not entirely in the confidence of the Government, consequently I am not prepared to say what they will do. Assuming that the Government will accept the boundaries fixed by the late administration, running from the northeasterly point of Manitoba to some point west of James' Bay, Manitoba will have a territory of 250,000 square miles. The area of the Province at present is 73,732 square miles. Ontario, which is submissively modest (laughter), will have 400,000 square miles. This added territory does not contain any famed forests, or any great fertile area. It may have minerals, and perhaps water powers of considerable value. But I hope that, whatever that territory will be, Manitoba will have both Fort Churchill and Port Nelson. We have no objection to giving you access to those ports any time Ontario wishes to get it.



It is impossible to give the products of rural Manitoba for the last year. For the year 1911 with not more than 60 per cent. of their agricultural products actually disposed of, over \$100,000,000 was put in circulation from the farms of the three Prairie Provinces alone. As you know, the leading cities of Manitoba are Winnipeg and Brandon. Winnipeg has a population of at least 140,000 and 264 factories. Brandon, the second city, has a population of 14,000, some industries, and is the centre of a great agricultural district. Its exhibition, as a purely agricultural exhibition, is, with the exception of the Toronto fair, the finest in Canada. Next year we will have a Dominion fair, and I am instructed to invite you all to visit the great West and see what Brandon is. The old order of things is changing and giving place to the new. The beaver has gone, but if you believe in transmigration his spirit of industry and perseverance lives in the people of the West. We no longer see the old hand stones whereby the settlers ground their wheat into flour. The modern mill with specialized machinery is in their stead and turns out thousands of barrels of flour per day. No longer the prairie grasses attract the buffalo. The buffalo have disappeared and the domestic kine grazes in their place, and golden grain sways in the wind. Instead of the Indian we have the thrifty settler; instead of the tepees, thriving cities: instead of the messenger travelling slowly across the prairies we have telephones and telegraphs. The old order has changed. Hundreds of thousands of new citizens are coming every year. The people are forming a great power in the West, and an important matter for the consideration of the people of Canada and the people of the East is, what relationship is that great power in the West to bear to the great power in the East.

The answer must depend upon yourselves. It will depend partly upon the trade relations which will exist between the people of the East and West. It should be the thought of the people of the East to make the trade between East and West advantageous to both East and West, to remove from the people of the West the thought that it will be to their interest not to trade East and West but North and South. How are you going to do that? Span the great wilderness between East and West, cover it with iron rails. The Canadian Pacific Railway is constructed. The Grand Trunk Pacific is to serve that purpose—I am not going to discuss its cost. The Canadian Northern is now being built. But I say this, that they can build all the railways they like, yet unless the rates are such that trade can be advantageously carried from East to West and from West to East those rails will not be kept shining. Consequently the

rates must be considered. Moreover, the tariff must be arranged to fall with equal incidence on the people, East and West, so as to leave no cause for complaint in the West.

Further, the people of the West should follow the lead of the people of Ontario and reduce by manufacturing their surplus products to the least possible bulk and size, and thus have cheaper transportation. Industries should be established there and markets made so that the farmers may have quick and nearby markets for their products, and men may find ample employment in those factories in all the West, at good wages.

But gentlemen, this is not all. You cannot make the West linked to the East through trade relations only. There are now in the West 1,750,000 people, nearly one-fourth of the whole of Canada's population. Where did that population come from? I would like to think that the people of other parts of Canada were going in fast enough to assimilate the people coming in from other countries. But what do the figures show? I have the last returns from the Department of the Interior. There were in 1906 less than 200,000 eastern-born Canadians in the three prairie provinces. What chance have they of assimilating the hundreds of thousands there and coming in? What an undertaking! What a swallow! Two hundred or two hundred and fifty thousand people assimilating the million people who have come in in the last ten years! The lion eats the ox but the lion does not become an ox. He may kill many oxen, till he has gorged himself to satiety, he lies down and looks at what is before him—and quits. Assimilation in the West is out of the question. It must be fusion. Of that new population which has come in inside of the last ten years, say 375,000 was from the British Islands, approximately the same number from the United States, and about 250,000 from continental Europe.

The people coming from the British Islands are distinctly British. The people coming from Europe have become denationalized. The people who have gone into western Canada have not done so from the same motives that brought the Puritans out to Plymouth, the desire to have liberty to worship according to their convictions. Those who now come out come because they have better chances to make money. There is some tendency in the West, as perhaps there is in the East, to become more or less worshippers of the golden calf. They work hardest for the things that are for their material benefit. If the people of the West see a great advantage in trading with the South, and want to do it, what power is there to prevent them? That is another matter for consideration.

I do not like any man to rise in his place, whether private or public, and defame the United States. The United States is a great nation, and we have much to learn from it. They have taught their children to be proud of their country. We should teach our children to be proud of Canada. I have no objection to them looking up to the eagle and applauding as it screams. I have no objection to them worshipping Old Glory and singing about the homes of the "free and the brave," but when they come to Canada and accept all that we are offering them in the way of splendid opportunities they should dispense with their flag-waving. I want them not to forget their country, I pity the man who forgets his native land, for he will never make a loyal Canadian. But when they come over here I would like them to understand that this is another country, that instead of the Stars and Stripes there is another flag, which more than any other means liberty, which wrapped around any citizen of the Empire means protection no matter who he is or where. Then teach their children allegiance to it, and to those great ideals that have been the strength of Britain. Teach them the history of the Empire of which they are now a part.

British foundations have been laid in the northwest, and the newcomers must build upon them, but what is to be the character of the superstructure? Canada and the Canadians of the East must not be supine or complacent concerning it. They must join with similar spirits in the West and be the architects and oversee the building of the national structure as it arises. They must see that not only is it Canadian but British Canadian. It is not sufficient to have the popular faith that Providence watches over children, fools, and Canada. Providence will not do for us what we by effort can do for ourselves. Immediate attention and prompt action are essential. Eternal vigilance will be the price of our national unity, liberty, and strength. While the materials are plastic we must mould them, but let that mould be of a great Canadian nationalism and a splendid world purpose. Let the Canadian churches and people living in the East concentrate their philanthropy and religious effort in establishing and equipping organizations to receive and make at home the newcomers, holding up before them ennobling ideals. Let the local governments see that Canadian teachers of good character, and experts in their work are provided to train the children. Let the Dominion Government provide such railways, and tariff policies as will enable the newcomers to receive full and prompt reward for their effort. Let them stimulate and train all our boys to be not only good home makers but good home de-



fenders, well disciplined, of good physical development, and expert in the use of arms, not for offensive purposes but that as lovers of home and honor they may be courageous defenders of both. Let us all unite in seeing that there is placed before the newcomers and the youth of our country, its high destiny, that of a great and leading nation, more than a single great nation, the greatest nation in the greatest empire ever known. The United States severed its relations with Great Britain and became a great nation. It is not necessary for us to sever our connection with the Empire to become a great nation. That is not our destiny. It is our destiny to become a great nation, it is true—a great strong northern nation, but it is to be as well, the leader in the British Empire. Do not forget that the British Islands have nearly reached the limit of their natural resources, that they cannot expand. They cannot increase their population a great deal, and we are taking away some of their best people. Their commerce is now rivalled by the commerce of the United States, Germany, and Japan, and will soon be rivalled by the commerce of China. You cannot expect the British Islands to do more than they have done. With our magnificent natural resources, our hardy virile people, we may become the greatest people in history. The commercial enterprises and genius of Britain may be transferred to Canada, and the Dominion will become not only a full partner but the senior partner in the Empire. The power of Canada with that of the United Kingdom may be such that when it speaks its voice will mean the peace of the world, and its example followed will mean prosperity. Before our straight path stands an open door. We alone may shut it. Let us not. Beyond that door a crown of national success, of national character! Let no other take it. Pass the portal, wear the crown!

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(February 26th, 1912.)

## Oriental Immigration.

BY MR. H. H. STEVENS, M.P.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club, held on Feb. 26th, 1912, Mr. H. H. Stevens, M.P., of Vancouver, said:

*Mr. President and fellow Canadians*,—I esteem it a very great and high privilege indeed to have this opportunity of speaking to the citizens of Toronto on the subject of Oriental Immigration. The subject is one in which I, with a large percentage of the people of the West, am deeply interested. It is one that, were I to do justice to it, would require at least an hour and a half or two hours to present it in anything like an intelligent manner, so my remarks to-day necessarily have to be very brief, and I shall deal more with principles than with details. I wish to assume that you, as citizens of Canada, are interested, as we are in the West, in building up this great Dominion, and so will set this question in its broadest possible aspect.

In the first place, I should like to say that in order to solve problems we must grapple with them; you cannot form theories as to the manner in which certain questions should be dealt with when the conditions and circumstances are demanding immediate attention. (So, in the West, we are looking at this question in the light of immediate conditions which have developed with regard to Oriental immigration.) I shall ask you then to fill in the gaps in what I say, remembering that we are not dealing with abstract theories but with actual conditions.

Yesterday I listened to a sermon by a friend of mine in Ottawa, in which he used this phrase, "We surely have a goodly heritage in Canada." That describes in a very brief way what I would like to speak of just now. I wish to call your attention to the extent of Canada in that respect, stretching as it does from the Atlantic to the Pacific, whose natural resources we are only commencing to understand, and which

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\* Mr. H. H. Stevens, M.P., represents Vancouver in the House of Commons. A young man of much force of character, he was returned to Parliament for the first time on September 21st, 1911. He is a Conservative.

the world does not yet understand. On the Atlantic coast we have the great fisheries and the great seaports; then the fertile lands in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. A little to the west are Quebec and Ontario, with their great natural resources, where you are building up industries with your wonderful water powers and electric powers that will make this part the New England of Canada. In the West are the prairies which are to be the granary of the world. A few years ago we imagined that only a small proportion of the land was fertile or fit for growing grain, and that vast areas were suitable only for grazing; but we find to-day that the whole of the prairie land, from the international boundary to the north, and from the Rocky Mountains to the Great Lakes, can grow wheat freely, and we have only managed to scratch a small plot! Finally there is that great Province which was truly described by Sir Richard Cartwright as "a sea of mountains." And its valleys will yield enormously as soon as we are able to cultivate them. For in the reports at Ottawa it is stated that they are capable of producing annually five hundred million bushels of wheat. At the present time people from all parts of Canada, from the United States, and other parts of the world are directing their attention to the Peace River valley. So we can rest assured that in the course of a year or so the development of that Province will equal that of Saskatchewan or Alberta. I need not remind you of the extensive mineral deposits of British Columbia, covered with timber for 182,000,000 acres of a type and character not surpassed anywhere else in the world. Nor of the fisheries, which equal if they do not surpass in their possibilities the riches of the Atlantic coast.

I simply call your attention to this great heritage, to point out that the people of Canada are to-day face to face with two great problems: first, (the conservation of our natural resources,) and second, (immigration.) Of the first, I shall have nothing to say to-day, other than to impress upon your minds that you dare not, in face of the experience of the United States, be prodigal of your natural resources. Already we have erred, but there is still time to check our prodigality.

In respect to immigration, we are to-day where the United States stood seventy-five years ago in relation to this problem.

We cannot expect to build up with our small population a nation which will measure up to the responsibilities and resources of Canada, unless we have a number of immigrants coming into the country. So I say it is a problem—(for you must have immigrants)—worthy of the best brain and intellect in this country to solve it.



I shall call your attention very briefly to the experience of the United States, not simply that we may profit by it, but to try to inspire in you this idea, that we must profit by the experience of others if we are to do justice to the problems of Canada. It is folly, madness, on our part, to go on, as we are. (A virile race can assimilate any number of people.) We have vast natural resources, enough for all and sundry to participate in them; but we have a responsibility to build up a people that shall be true to the traditions of the Anglo-Saxons and of the British Empire. (Applause.)

I have not the opportunity at the present time to work out the problem of immigration, but I recommend to any man the perusal of a book lately written by Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. J. Locke. This book contains, boiled down, the essence of an investigation covering several years, a large amount of facts and data giving most valuable information, dealing with this question. I shall quote some of the information, from this book, and lay down principles. I was amused last week to read how some people pictured myself; it gave me an idea of what sort of man I am, with slaughter in my heart and blood in my eye. (Laughter.) But I say this, with a fervent desire for the good of Canada, that it is absolutely essential for us to grasp the underlying principles of this great problem before we can deal with it in an intelligent manner.

From this report, presented by this commission, I want to read a quotation: "While the American people have in the past welcomed the oppressed of other lands, care should be taken that immigrants be such both in quality and quantity, as not to make too difficult the process of assimilation." Assimilation is the underlying principle of immigration; it is the root of the whole problem. (I want you to get fastened in your mind this fact, that unless you assimilate your immigrants you are laying up a problem which will equal the negro problem of the south.) I quote again:—"Since the existing law and further special legislation recommended in this report deal with the physically and morally unfit, further general legislation concerning the admission of aliens should be based primarily upon economic and business considerations, touching the prosperity and economic well-being of our people. That is, immigration should not be allowed to simply develop some individual industry, but should be regarded as a factor in nation-building." Again:—"The slow extension of industry which would permit the adaptation and assimilation of the incoming labor supply, is preferable to a very rapid industrial expansion which results in the immigrants and laborers of low

standards and efficiency, and imperils the American standard of wages and conditions of employment."

In other words, immigration should never be used simply as a means to develop individual industries here and there or for advancing certain classes of the people; immigration should be used as a factor in nation-building, not simply for the accumulation of wealth by certain individuals. The United States stands out to-day as the greatest example of the abuse of this great principle. Seventy-five per cent. of the immigrants in the United States are congregated in the great cities. In nineteen cities containing more than 250,000 population the foreign-born population exceeds the native-born. In New York, two-fifths of the population is foreign-born, another two-fifths is composed of native-born children of foreign-born parents, and only one-fifth are native citizens or children of such. In Chicago, 35 per cent. of the population is foreign-born, two-fifths are children of foreign-born parents, and less than one-fifth are native-born or children of native-born. This is producing for the people of the United States a problem that they are staggered with, and which the best brain of the Republic is trying to solve. We are in a position now where we can avoid that problem if we take proper steps to safeguard our immigration.

I have said enough to impress on your minds the fact that the great problem is assimilation. On the Pacific coast our primary objection to the Oriental is that he will not assimilate. We have had considerable experience. The people of the United States have been testing the case for fifty years with the Chinese, and there is not the slightest sign that he will assimilate. Large numbers of Chinese came there in the gold rush of 1849 and '50; most of them are dead now, but their children are still Chinese to the core.

We fully appreciate the good qualities of the Oriental in his own way. I want to say this, that I have traveled in China and Japan, and have a very keen appreciation of the capacities of these nations; and the man who belittles the possibilities of these two nations in this world's history is underrating them very materially and making the most serious mistake of his life. But the very fact that I appreciate the capability of these people is one reason why I hesitate to encourage them to come here. If you can't assimilate them, you are building up a distinct and separate race and no nation can do so without suffering from the effects of it in future years. (But add to this the fact that the Orientals still retain their allegiance to their own

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land, and their strong religious sense, and this intensifies the danger.)

British Columbia is at least one-tenth Oriental, I suppose it may be one-seventh of one-eighth, so we have reason, I think good reason, to be alarmed. In the United States they have only four in one hundred of the population on the coast Oriental, but in British Columbia the problem is more intensified; yet the United States have excluded Orientals, making laws regarding the Chinese and the Japanese; in one place they have asked the British Government to prevent entirely Hindu immigration. I think we have equal or greater reason to be alarmed at the possibilities of this immigration in our midst.

Another objection is this: no matter how fine a type of men these may be, I contend that the Oriental, be he Japanese, Chinese or Hindu, is entirely different in ideals, political, economic, social, religious, intellectual; in fact in every way his traditions and history are entirely different from ours. (So that in view of that fact the process of assimilation is a waste of time.)

Last week I propounded this question to the Woman's Canadian Club: "A great many people say, let us welcome these people to our shores, but ladies, are you willing to give your daughters in marriage to Hindus, or your sons to marry Hindu women? You are asking us in British Columbia to do it!" I say assimilation must mean intermarriage; are you prepared to adopt that course to give your own sons and daughters in marriage to these races? History tells us this fact, that the offspring of the intermarriage of Occidentals and Orientals shows detriment of both races, that there seem to gather within that offspring the vices of both races and the virtues of neither.

Of the Chinese on the coast ninety-five per cent. are males and five per cent. females, and they have been there forty or fifty years. There is a system by which certain rich men have a syndicate, with headquarters at Vancouver or Seattle; they bring over coolies, pay their passage and head tax, and I am told in Vancouver that from the day they land there till they have paid the tax with a heavy rate of interest, they are practically slaves of these contractors or bosses, who hire them and send them to work whenever and wherever they like. The individual has nothing to say. They are slaves in the true sense of the term till they pay off the full amount of their indebtedness, which I know takes in some cases twenty years! Is that the type of immigration you want? Is it consistent with Anglo-Saxon traditions to promote a system of slavery?



for this is nothing else; it is the paramount practice on the Pacific coast.

*White slavery*  
The Chinese are also inveterate gamblers and white slavers. A large number of women are brought in as the wives and daughters of merchants, and are sent to the great centres in the eastern cities of Canada. This is the most profitable source from which the white slave traffic is drawn. I know it to be a fact. The rich merchants will swear that these women are their wives or daughters, and the syndicate, the interpreters and everyone else all work together, while the Chinese is silent as a clam about anything affecting him, so it is very difficult to get evidence against these men.

*mills*  
The Japanese are engaged chiefly in logging and fishing. The mill industry is the largest industry on the Pacific coast. This is one of the evil effects of the policy of ten or twelve years ago:—When the large mill men on the coast owing to shortage of labor—(I do not blame the mill men. It seemed to them no doubt the best thing or the only thing to do)—employed large numbers of Orientals. (In the shingle mills the boys were replaced by Chinese and Japanese;) consequently, instead of having a large population of mill workers with families from which to draw workers constantly as the years go on, the mill men and other employers of labor find they have built up a population of individual Chinese. The consequence is, labor is scarce. Not only in these direct lines, but in domestic lines too and the fishing industry there are no families, they are replaced by Orientals.

*Logging and*  
In the fishing industry there were 9,500 white fishermen engaged on the Pacific coast ten years ago; now there are ten thousand and more Japanese fishermen. I contend that that one fact alone is sufficient to awaken in the mind of any true Canadian some idea of the immense importance of the problems created by the employment of Orientals on the Pacific coast. The whole industry to which you look for men to defend your shores in case of attack, the industry which has always been the backbone of defence of a nation, has passed into the hands of an alien and ambitious race. This should make every true Canadian sit up and listen!

Let me give you a brief illustration of what this means. A coasting vessel wished to let off a couple of passengers at a place up a little inlet or fjord. The captain did not know what the passage was like, and had no chart, but a Japanese fisherman produced a complete chart of the fjord, which showed the channel better than any that is to be found in the Archives

at Ottawa. And among these Japanese fishermen are many naval reservists, who have had training in the navy.)

Sixty-five per cent. of the captains sailing into Vancouver are sons of Nova Scotia fishermen. But if you are talking about a navy, where are you going to get men for your navy, if that population is entirely replaced by Orientals? This is a condition which obtains now, which must be faced; it is not the result of a moment, but that of a mistaken policy which has been perpetuated on the coast. People three thousand miles east of there do not realize matters as they are; but for the past five or ten years we have been building up this foreign population there; and we are in hopes that the people all over Canada will realize this problem as we do on the coast.

Hindus are largely employed on the Pacific coast, first of all in the lumber mills more than in any other single employment, also in gardening and excavating and lot clearing in the cities—a class of labor for which there is always a fair demand and a reasonable supply. They engage very little in farming, and that only contiguous to the great centres. They do no pioneering. They tend to gather close together, in similar conditions to what they live in in their own land, but entirely foreign to those in which we Anglo-Saxons live. Another matter the mere matter of money! By the employment of Oriental labor employers find the housing problem rendered easy. A white man will demand certain food and accommodation, but the Orientals are of such simple tastes that to demand better accommodation they think would cast a reflection on their employers. I know many men who are interested in the welfare of their employees, but in actual industrial life it is only natural that they should take advantage of the situation thus presented. Then the Asiatic has a tendency to gravitate towards the centres of population, and there to build up "Little Asias," as at Vancouver and New Westminster, where there are a "Chinatown," a "Japtown," and "Hindustown." There is no chance of assimilating these people.

With regard to the question of the Hindus in connection with this problem of their wives,—I have never taken the position yet, although probably more active in this matter than any other single person, that we should deny to a Hindu the right to have his wife with him. But I contend that the whole question must be taken into consideration in connection with the whole problem of Oriental immigration. What the Hindu is demanding is the right to free travel throughout the Empire. I want to call your attention to this fact. Allowing them this right, with three hundred and fifty millions of peo-

ple what chance have you with fifty or sixty millions of Anglo-Saxons? The ambition of the Oriental is to obtain the free right of travel, the free franchise of citizenship, and the right to sit in elective positions. They have asked me, "Why are not we given the full rights of British citizenship as you have it to-day?" I hold that we are not prepared to give the Hindus that right, because they have demonstrated that they are not even well ready for home rule as we have it in Canada. I claim that India is not in the same position as Canada, Australia or New Zealand. Anglo-Saxon law can never be administered by Hindus in India. The judges in India never register a conviction on the sole testimony of Hindus, but always require white testimony as well. In British Columbia we have had this experience in relation to Hindu testimony, and Judge Shaw, Judge McKinnon, Judge Bull, and Judge Williams, all have refused to try a case concerning Hindus, because they can not trust them. The other day, for example, a man came in with his breast lacerated, saying that two Hindus had wounded him, but it was found out that this man himself had put some pieces of glass in the wall and rubbed his breast against them, his object being to get revenge upon his fellow Hindu for some reason or other. The other two men, when the Government discovered this fraud, were put in prison for perjury.

The Hindus are not prepared or equipped to take the full rights of citizenship, in face of their propaganda on the Pacific coast. This demand for the admission of their wives is simply a trumped-up plea to get the laws amended. We are prepared to deal with the Oriental question on its merits, and when that is settled then we can take up this other matter of the Hindus' wives according to the standards of humanity, and will deal with them as individuals. As individuals it may be right to do what may not be right to do as a race, but we must not break down the great policy of restriction of Asiatic immigration, and they have no right to demand it.

Regarding this law which demands that the Hindu shall take a continuous journey to Canada, so far as I am concerned I know it is a gigantic farce. But we are clinging to that as a last straw, because if that restriction is abolished we shall be inundated. Practically all the Hindus now in British Columbia came in one year. About 1897 there was a large influx of Japanese from the Hawaiian Islands, so in order to stop that in such a way as not to give offence to Japan the Government put that provision into effect. It applies to Swedes, Italians, Hindus, Japanese and everybody. I admit the thing is a farce;

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but what we want is that the people of the East shall agree to deal with this question on its merits. I should be delighted to see it swept away, but until you are prepared to deal with this question, (the consideration of which we have been refused time and again by the Ottawa Government, the Government of British Columbia having repeatedly passed laws which were promptly disallowed) in self defence we have to cling to whatever regulation we can.

If the Hindu is truly Imperial, why does he not content himself with seeking to build up the Empire in countries and under conditions where he is eminently fitted to do it? In India, Egypt, North Africa, where he is equipped to live in the climatic conditions as not all people are, there is a chance to demonstrate his enthusiasm for the Empire.

But, gentlemen, seriously, this question of their claim based on Imperial loyalty is very weak. (Every man who signed that demand is conniving with writers who approve of the action of the men who tore down the Union Jack at Vancouver the other day.) These men that raised that trouble came from the United States West. I simply am giving you facts that can be proved.

My firm conviction is, that the British Empire owes its prestige to-day chiefly to the high standard of national life we have always defended and advocated, and anything which interferes in the slightest degree with the purity and integrity of the national ideals must correspondingly weaken the Empire. We have to be true to the past, for our fathers bled and died for the Empire, and we must uphold in the highest possible way these standards of morality integrity, and honor.

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(March 4th, 1912.)

## British Columbia and its Relation to Confederation.

BY HON. MARTIN BURRELL.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club, held on March 4th, 1912, Hon. Martin Burrell said:

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,*—I need hardly say in the first place, that it is a pleasure to come back again to Toronto, where I have had very many pleasant associations in the past, and where you are kind enough to continually send so many stalwart recruits to our side of the House—if I may touch on political questions at all. It must be a justification of those who formed these Canadian Clubs that they are doing such good work all over Canada. It is a pleasure to come into this non-political, non-resoluting—if I may use that word—this calm, judicial atmosphere. My only regret is that I can't smoke and talk at the same time, or I should be doing it. I reaffirm my own conviction that the chief aim of these clubs is being achieved, because they are distinctly educational, not only to the members of the club, but to those who have to go around and speak to them—we are taught to say something more than narrow parochialisms, to bring seriously to these clubs what will go to help the full realization of the solidarity of the Canadian people.

I want to disarm any hostile criticism in advance, by saying that I am not in good shape to make a speech to a Canadian Club as big and important as this. You can understand how tremendously pressed Ministers are at this time of the year, so I could not give time to the working up of a speech. I had hoped to have a chance to come at another time of the year, but your President was so insistent, so kindly and extremely suave, that I found it almost impossible to refuse to come now. A certain Governor of Bengal was noted for his extreme suavity and politeness. On one occasion a notorious criminal named Enoch Brown was to be hanged at 1 o'clock on a certain day. The Governor was to be present, but later found himself com-

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\*Hon. Martin Burrell, M.P., Minister of Agriculture in the Dominion Government, represents in Parliament the immense constituency of Yale and Cariboo, British Columbia. An Englishman by birth, he came to Canada in 1885, and is one of the ablest men at Ottawa.

pelled to be elsewhere at that hour. He sent a note to Mr. Brown, reading thus: "The Governor of Bengal presents his compliments to Mr. Enoch Brown, and finding he has to go to another appointment in the afternoon would like to know if it would be equally convenient for Mr. Brown to be hanged at 10 o'clock." Politeness is irresistible. Brown was hanged at 10 o'clock. And so, sir, I have come, at all events sooner than I expected, whether to be hanged or not remains to be seen. (Laughter.)

I also understand you are kind enough to ask me to speak on a non-controversial subject,—the historical features of the development of our Province. It is rather pleasant to leave the stormy atmosphere of fierce criticism, though I believe that even my friend Mr. Duff here is not entirely relieved from it—(laughter)—it is pleasant to deal with those things that have passed away,—there have been calumnies and harsh criticisms in the past, but "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*"; if you can say nothing good, better say nothing at all, even of the living.

History is not concerned with individuals, say some people, except in their capacity as members of the State; this may be true, but I think we shall admit this to be true also, that if the presentation of history were unrelieved by the storm and stress of personal affairs, of human passion, it would be a pretty dry affair, which we should have little wish to study. We are not attracted by what we may call the severe school of historians. There are a great many schools of historians, a great many types of writers. One holds that history is, as Carlyle says, "an imprisoned epic," and that the history of mankind is simply the history of great men, and that to find them out, to clear away the dirt off them, and put them on their proper pedestals, is the real function of the historian. Another school is represented by Tolstoi. These believe that great men are to be accepted as the product of their times, that these events and conditions were simply directed, not created, by the men who achieved prominence. Still another type is that of the historian Green, who held that in relating the words and doings of the common people, in their daily life, showing how they lived and how they faced their problems, moral and social, you are doing better than by picturing the peculiar characteristics of great men. So I think we shall agree on a happy medium: you have to summarize your study of the great men and the common people to arrive at anything like a sound conclusion as to the true development of a nation or a State.

I must apologize for thus dealing with matters that seem to have no connection with British Columbia; probably it seems rather a fraud for me to attempt to speak when I have



no time to deal with the historical features of the Province as I would like, and must give only a disjointed sketch. One does not know how much to assume that you know, but though it is dangerous to traverse stale ground, it is equally dangerous to presuppose that every gentleman here is fully enlightened about my Province. I have had some very rude shocks lately while loitering in England, where I discovered that some people had the feeblest knowledge as to where British Columbia was or what it was. In the good old city of York there was a big exhibition, where I was in charge of a fruit exhibit from British Columbia, and near me was a magnificent collection of grain from the prairie. A reporter of a Yorkshire paper—and reporters are an unusually intelligent and highly trained class of the community—told me he would give me an excellent write-up. But next morning my federal friends asked me, with very glum visages, what I had been doing to the reporter the night before; he had said in his report that “there were two great features of the show in the form of fine exhibits of fruit and grain from two of the greatest of the British colonies, Canada and British Columbia.” Other evidences rather disillusioned me about presuppositions. One instance was at Exeter, at another great exhibition, where a reporter undertook to write it up, and he did it justice. “At the end of the hall,” he said, “was the California fruit exhibit, under the direction of the Agent-General for British Columbia.” One more instance: I have still in my possession a thing which I treasure much, a map printed under the auspices of the Geographical Society of Scotland,—it was printed at Edinburgh, and is in colors to show the character of the religious denominations in Canada; bright red marks the Roman Catholic portion, then pink the Protestants, and a dark sooty color for the heathen; starting at the Atlantic, Quebec is bright red, then pink begins to be very much in evidence, and gradually as you go on west there is more pink and the red disappears from the scene, but then the atmosphere grows distinctly sooty, until you come to British Columbia, where it is almost all a sooty black. (Laughter.)

In the little, hurried sketch I can give of the historical development of our Province, I will deal broadly with three great periods: the first, that of its earlier history, during which there were the searches for the Northwest passage, including many voyages, up to that of Captain Vancouver, in the coast waters and various Arctic explorations; secondly, the fur-trading period, beginning with the granting of the charter in 1670 to the Hudson's Bay Company; and thirdly, the period characterized by the long diplomatic controversy between Russia, Great Bri-

tain and the United States, concerning the delimitation of boundaries and the possession of disputed territories.

Our genial friend, Oliver Wendell Holmes, used to say that all generous minds have a horror of statistics, but I am sure you will forgive the quotation of a few necessary dates. An excellent summary of the earlier history of British Columbia by Mr. R. E. Gosnell, to which I am indebted, is in the Year Book of 1903.

It was in the year 1537 that California was discovered by Cortez and his band of Spanish captains. Forty years later Sir Francis Drake sailed into these western seas, plundering the Spaniards, and after wintering on the coast started for home laden with spoil, but under stress of weather, and partly to escape the enemy he turned north, and cast anchor for five weeks near what is now San Francisco, where in the pleasant fashion of those days he set up the British flag, took possession of the whole coast in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and called the country New Albion. It is curious to note that three centuries later one of the claims to the Oregon territory set up by England was founded on this very act of Drake's. In 1592 a Greek navigator who later took the name of Juan de Fuca, then in the employ of the Spaniards in Mexico, made a voyage north and entered the waters leading to the Strait of Georgia between Vancouver Island and the mainland of British Columbia. These waters are still known as the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

Then we come to 1778, when Captain Cook, of famous memory, arrived with his two ships, the "Resolution" and the "Discovery," under instructions from the British Government to examine the coast from the 45th parallel to the Arctic. He sailed north to the Arctic Ocean, passing through Behring Strait, which he so named after the Danish navigator who discovered it thirty years earlier. Cook's stories of the wealth of this western country, especially in its rich furs, fired the imagination of European adventurers and stimulated the remarkable enterprises which characterized subsequent years. Among these were a great many enterprises purely of adventure, and many of discovery, some official and some distinctly unofficial. Spain still exercised its power in the west, and about 1790 a Spanish expedition arrived in Nootka in the northern waters, confiscated the British vessels, and took possession in the name of the King of Spain. A great deal of controversy took place, and heavy indemnity was demanded by Great Britain, and restitution was made by Spain. To carry out the terms of the convention was one of the reasons of the notable voyage of Captain Vancouver, who arrived on the coast in 1792. A

thorough survey of the coast line followed, a survey setting many questions at rest, and in the names of Vancouver and Vancouver Island to-day we have a permanent remembrance of one of the foremost figures of those early days.

The arrival of the Hudson's Bay steamer "Beaver" in 1835 by way of the Horn marked another phase of Pacific coast history, but by this time the discovery days were over, and a coastwise traffic established. Then came other factors in the development of the West in the shape of explorations overland from the east, the most notable being that of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, an officer of the Northwest Fur Company, who followed the great river which now bears his name to the Arctic, and in a later exploration the Peace River, and going westward reached the Pacific coast at Bella Coola in 1793. This memorable journey led the way for the great fur-trading commerce, and was thereby instrumental in winning for Great Britain what is now the Province known as British Columbia.

An almost equally important expedition in its historical bearings was that of Lewis and Clark in the employ of the United States Government in 1804. This expedition, ostensibly scientific, but with definite aims of another character, reached the mouth of the Columbia River in 1805, and it had very much to do with the claims of the United States to the Oregon territory, which were finally settled after years of controversy by the Ashburton treaty in 1846.

Into that vexed question one cannot enter now. We have all heard of the supposed disregard by British diplomacy of the claims of British interests, a disregard best illustrated by the well-worn story of the official who said "the salmon won't rise to the fly, and the whole country is no good." There is very much to be said on the other side of this question of British diplomacy; my own firm belief is that in spite of mistakes the history of British diplomacy has been very far from the record of blunders and incompetencies which some people assert in so airy a way. Perhaps this would not be an inopportune time to quote a few words on this subject from a man particularly eminent in the political field, a statesman whose standing in the Empire none questions. I refer to Sir Edward Grey's speech before the Press Conference in June, 1909. He said: "I deprecate strongly any idea that the Foreign Office is more ready to compromise with foreign countries where the interests of colonies are concerned than where our own interests are concerned. And I am quite convinced of this, that though now and then a self-governing Dominion beyond the seas may think that in some settlement with a foreign country the British Foreign Office has not been stiff enough in uphold-



ing British interests, if they could only have access to, or if they could only read the blue books giving an account of the negotiations with foreign countries in which any colonial interest was directly concerned, they would find that where we have made cessions of territory they have not been those which belonged to the self-governing colonies." "But compromise," he concluded—and this is a word which should sink deeply into the heart of every Canadian—"is surely one of the things essential to every great Empire. If we were to assert the extreme letter of everything which we claim, the British Empire would become impossible."

Now let me revert for a moment to the great fur-trading system, which is so intimately connected with the history and development of British Columbia, without which indeed there might not have been any British Columbia. A Montreal firm known as the Northwest Company is to be credited with the first permanent settlement in British Columbia, that of Fort St. James, on Stuart's Lake, in the north of Cariboo. This district, which I have the honor to represent, is none of your little pocket boroughs, but stretches from the international boundary to the Yukon, quite a tidy little riding, equal to half of Ontario, I mean Ontario as at present in extent, for there is apparently to be a bigger Ontario soon. The Hudson's Bay Company, which obtained its charter from Charles II. in 1670, the charter giving powers of an exclusive character to Hudson Bay and its contiguous territory, was pushing its operations westward, and—without going into the discussion of the long struggles between these two great companies, struggles leading to endless rancor and sometimes bloodshed, it may be stated that a coalition of the companies was brought about in 1821, when a new Royal license was issued giving the new company the sole rights to the great fur trade of the Northwest. The new company took the name of the older organization, and from this time on the history of the Hudson's Bay Company was the history of the whole country.

The system was operated under the direction of Chief Factors, men of great energy, and of a high order of training, and wielding enormous powers industrial and social, and possessing extraordinary knowledge of the whole country. Besides carrying on the fur trade, operating over an immense extent of territory, the Company raised horses and cattle, had large farms, grist mills, fisheries, exported flour and merchandise to Alaska, hides and wool to England, and opened up the great coal mines at Nanaimo. Of these men, one of the most powerful and one who practically witnessed the transition period when the Hudson's Bay Company passed from its former

character into that of an ordinary modern commercial trading company, was James Douglas, a man destined to exercise a singular influence over the far West. It was during the negotiations concerned with the delimitation of the international boundary fixed in 1846 at the 49th parallel, that the Hudson's Bay Company, fearing that its posts below the 49th parallel would be sacrificed, determined to select a new central post, and James Douglas was chosen for the work. Accustomed to responsibility, familiar to an extraordinary degree with the western coast, resourceful, and wonderfully tactful, the new Factor finally selected ten square miles on Vancouver Island at Camosun. Camosun at first, it became later Prince Albert, and finally acquired its present name Victoria, to-day the capital city of British Columbia.

In the grants from the Imperial Government to the Hudson's Bay Company conditions were inserted which gave it power to carve out territories and to make new colonies if it so wished, independent from Upper or Lower Canada. This led to the establishment of Vancouver Island as a separate colony, and later on to the establishment of New Caledonia on the mainland. It was in 1849 that Vancouver Island was declared a British colony open for colonization. Richard Blanshard was chosen as the first Governor, but he was not the man for the position, having no strong characteristics, and very shortly after James Douglas, whose great abilities were known, was taken by the Imperial authorities for the responsibilities of this new task, in 1851. Then as the population increased there was a basis for elective franchise, and a Representative Assembly was called together, the first parliament lasting from 1856 to 1859.

Meanwhile New Caledonia had had its name changed to British Columbia, though it was still Indian territory under the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company. But in 1858 the new colony of British Columbia was proclaimed, with Governor Douglas as its Governor also, and the capital was placed at Queensborough, later called New Westminster. Fights between various factions and rivalry between the two capitals led in 1860 to the union of the two colonies under the name of British Columbia, with the capital at Victoria.

There were those who fought bitterly and hard against the entrance of British Columbia into Confederation. Others felt, I think rightly, that the consolidation of the Provinces must come, to round out the Confederation into anything worthy of the name, and that it was wise and patriotic to join the far West and the far East in one strong union. So in 1871 British Columbia turned another page in its varied history, and entered

on its new career as the great westerly Province of the Dominion of Canada.

The subsequent history of our Province has been one largely of development and exploration, of development accompanied by difficulties of an extraordinary character, stamped with romance and adventure all through, largely owing to the natural configuration of the country. And here one may ask again what and where is British Columbia? It is a country of mountainous character, approximately 700 miles long from north to south, by 400 miles wide, embracing a territory larger now than any other Province, practically three times the size of the whole of the Maritime Provinces, three or four times as big as the whole Empire of Japan, an empire in fact itself. Its eastern limit is marked by a line which pierces the centre of the range of the Rockies. On its southern boundary are the northern portions of the great States of Montana, Idaho, and Washington, and it stretches northward through a vast hinterland, practically unexplored, to the far-famed Yukon. As a watershed on the Pacific coast, its importance is marked by the fact that all the great rivers which flow into the Pacific except one—the Colorado—rise within its borders. The Columbia traverses the Province for hundreds of miles before finding its way southward through the United States and spilling its great volume of waters into the Pacific in Oregon. The Fraser stretches for 750 miles through British Columbia territory, and in addition we have the Skeena (300 miles), the Stikine, the Laird, and the Peace Rivers.

It is a country essentially of superlatives. I am almost afraid to begin talking in superlatives, to tell you of the mountains, of the rivers, the fish, the men, and everything else,—all are big. I don't know whether it is safe to say more. Our friends in the East say we are prone to brag. I am willing to admit that the farther west you go the taller your talk becomes. Perhaps this is only the defect of a quality. This breezy exaggeration is just a defect of the quality of stern, robust optimism that believes the future is bright, that is rooted so firmly in the mind because in facing Nature in its raw, terrible, undeveloped state, it realizes that only by the hardest resolution can Nature be conquered. This resolution and this faith tend to that which others call braggartism.

In a country which is practically ninety per cent. mountainous, one of the first great tasks which confronts the people is road building. Sir James Douglas showed in that more clearly than in anything else his marvellous grasp of the country's necessities: he started under his regime the great system of roads through the Kootenay country, and to the Cariboo dis-



tract. He knew, as Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, what easy communication meant to the development of that country. While it is true that in the past an enormous amount of work was done by your pioneers in opening up this part of the Dominion, the early settlers of the West had a colossal work as compared with your own. There miles of road, costing often thousands of dollars, had to be constructed to one little remote settlement. Little bands of pioneers scattered all over were crying insistently for roads. After all, it is our duty in British Columbia, as in the far east,—there is an obligation upon us who are in more fortunate circumstances—to stretch out a helping hand to those pioneers, isolated, cut off from kith and kin, who are doing the foundation work for the Canada of the future.

As to development in British Columbia since Confederation,—the practical importance was realized of first opening up the interior of the country. After the excitement of the gold rush of '49 to California had died down, people began to dream of and hear the call to a new El Dorado in the gold-bearing Cariboo District. There is plenty of romance there. I have talked with men who have never seen a railway, who have never been down from there since 1862 to the present day. They have realized not only enormous hardships, fording ice-cold rivers at imminent risk of death, penetrating almost impenetrable forests, but have been cut off from all the things they valued. But one of the things which has characterized this country, making it different from other mining countries, is the marvellous law and order, due partly to the instinctive love of those early settlers for what is right and just, also partly to the fact that such men as I have referred to, men a little of the James Douglas type, were prominent in the early days; such too as Sir Matthew Begbie, who was Chief Justice, a man of force of character and great knowledge of men, absolutely fearless and tactful, who went up into the Yale-Cariboo District twenty or thirty times. Among the stories told to illustrate the character of this man who meant so much to the orderliness of the country is one of a certain rascally bravado from the other side of the line, who appeared before the Chief Justice for some offence. The Judge was a man of few words. He tried the man and said in concluding, "I'll fine you \$50." The fellow said in an easy manner, "That's all right, Judge, I have that in my breeches pocket!" "And six months," added the Judge, 'have you that in your breeches pocket?' Another story relates to a time just before Sir Matthew Begbie died. A man was up for sandbagging somebody, an entirely plain case. The jury's sympathies were worked on, as they are sometimes,

and the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty." "You are let off, it is true," said the Judge to the prisoner, "this jury, to my amazement and disgust, has said you are not guilty. The best advice I can give you is to go home, get your sandbag, and sandbag the jurymen!"

I must not touch on the history of placer mining in British Columbia leading up to the development of our lode mining. Just subsequent to that began the development of the agricultural and horticultural interests of the interior. It is claimed that British Columbia will be the great Province of the Dominion, especially for horticultural work. There is something of romance also here. I have seen some of the first fruit trees which were brought in and planted in the Province, still alive and bearing. They were brought hundreds of miles on horseback over the trail, at great risk of life and limb, and are there still, to be witnesses to the energy and faith of the people settling in British Columbia in those early days, and their belief in the possibilities of the country. When I went out there first, in 1899, there were only 7,000 acres in orchard, to-day there are between 100,000 and 120,000 acres, and there is developing a very big and important industry indeed.

In the links which have bound us together, of all kinds, we have greatly developed a very strong and robust Canadian sentiment: we are Canadians in the best sense of that word. Previous to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway we were isolated; you knew little of us in the East, and we knew little of your aims and aspirations; we were intensely British, our whole traditions were British, and we had an intense aspiration to live out and perpetuate in the best way British institutions. That link has been a great thing not only for us but for you. Those twin rails of steel, which meant so much commercially in the interchange of traffic between the Canadian brother West of the Rockies and the Canadian brother of the East, meant much in the binding together of kith and kin, and has helped to make us what we are to-day, truly one nation, with the same aims and aspirations.

It is perfectly true that our conditions are somewhat different to yours. It is equally true, that what makes for your welfare makes for ours, and what hurts us must hurt you. You cannot do a thing which is bad for us out there without injuring that part of the Dominion which is in the East, and anything which seriously hurts you must also cripple the great outposts. Therefore, though our problems are different from yours, you are coming daily to feel a great vital interest in the problems of British Columbia. You are getting a larger vision, you see the country as one. No man can say what the develop-

ment of that Province may be. With the completion of the Panama Canal in 1915, it is impossible to forecast what strange shifting and adjusting there may be. We on the Pacific coast believe there will be an enormous expansion of industry on the coast, and also a readjusting of energies all over the country, and the enterprise and energy that characterizes this city of Toronto should not, and I believe will not, be behind in that readjusting of industrial conditions in the next two years.

One word on the great problem of Oriental immigration. I am going to say only one word with reference to it. I have during the past few years spoken a good deal on that subject, largely on the Japanese phase, but necessarily also on some others. You thoroughly understand that there are two absolutely distinct phases of the question as presented. There are the people from India, and the matter as it affects them is more purely economic than as regards the others. Many of these people who have come over, and many of those left behind, have rendered great service to the British Empire, and yet, gentlemen, we must also recognize the fact that in the face of those teeming millions of India, an enormous mass, not altogether homogeneous, but a multitude with fundamentally different traditions and ideals from the British, it must be a very serious matter to think of relaxing any conditions which might help to open the door to a great influx of these people, much as we admire their services in the past. No harsh word should be said of those who would open the door, and certainly no harsh word should be said of those who believe it should be kept closed. The question should be approached in the broadest possible spirit. Needless antagonisms should not add to the difficulties of the problem which has to be faced by our statesmen.

The Japanese and Chinese question from economic as well as from national reasons is of immense importance to us; you do not begin to grasp it, because you are not face to face with it; but if you here in the East were to be in the condition of British Columbia, you would have a better understanding of the problem. Look at the census—(I speak with bated breath of this authority, for I see that you think you have been credited by my Department with a considerably smaller population than you claim to have in Toronto)—if you found from 20 to 30 per cent. of your own white race withdrawn and supplanted by these Oriental races, who were entering the economic field and disturbing your conditions, you would look at this question in an entirely different light. We look across those intervening waters and see the teeming millions, of different tongues, of alien traditions and religions, absolutely



different in social structure, we realize that with our sparse population we are keeping watch and ward for you on the Pacific coast, holding that land for our children's children, as a great British-English-speaking country. We must be reluctant to open the door in any way to those races, when we know the impossibility of fusing that kind of type into the body politic or assimilating it in such a way as will make for a homogeneous social structure in the far West.

I am aware no man should open his mouth on this great question without great reluctance and hesitancy and without deep earnestness. I am not saying that those who are dealing with this question are not trying to do so temperately, moderately, wisely, I believe this is going to be the dominant question of the British Empire in the future—this problem of immigration. Statesmen realize that it is one of the great problems, the relation of the far East to the West. Therefore, it is the duty of every man to bring his best thought and energy to help towards the solution of this question in the very best spirit. I believe you wish to see the far West Province, a great, healthy, lusty Province, developed by the same forces and inhabited by the same types as those that have inhabited and developed your own East, with the same aspirations and ideals, working with you hand in hand and heart to heart for the good of our common country. (Applause.)

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(March 11th, 1912.)

## Philippine Affairs.

BY RIGHT REV. C. H. BRENT, D.D.\*

AT a regular luncheon of the Canadian Club held on March 11th, 1912, Bishop Brent said:

*"Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—*You do me great honor in bidding me here as your guest. I know of nothing that has happened in my visit to America on this occasion that has given me higher pleasure. I am in the land of my birth, and my Canadian blood still runs warm. (Applause.) I look toward Canada as one of the stalwart nations of the world, with a great future before it, a future which will tax the fine manhood that Canada is producing; and just because I know something of the meaning of Canadian manhood I do not fear for the future of Canada.

I have been asked to speak to you on a specific subject. I could take the entire time at my disposal, and yours, in considering either the opium question or the conditions in the Philippine Islands, and when I had exhausted all my time there would still remain much to be said. I think, therefore, I can best use these moments in trying to sketch for you what the American Government is trying in an altruistic way to do for the Philippine Islands.

Your President has said that he had no large knowledge concerning these Islands. I think very few Americans had before they realized that the waif had been put under the tutelage of the American Government. And as that inimitable person, Mr. Dooley, remarked in one of his philosophic treatises, "for the most part men don't know whether they are islands or canned goods." Some of us have had the privilege of learning by close contact since that day that they are islands. They are a dependency of the United States, and we find ourselves in the peculiar position of being a republic, and yet having dependencies. Such things have happened in past history, but it is a current saying, and I think on the

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whole, a true saying, that it is not the genius of republics to develop an imperial tendency.

The history of our dependency is one of considerable interest and of great importance to this our day and generation. It is not a long time since in the relation of a home country to her dependencies there was to a large extent a false philosophy. In a book which has just appeared,—and I believe I was among the first persons in Toronto to have a copy of that book,—it is by Sir John Findlay, Attorney-General of New Zealand, and relates to the recent Imperial Conference in London,—in this book that has just appeared, the author states—that in the last century, in the time of Lord Palmerston, there was some trouble about finding a Secretary for the Colonies; to solve the difficulty, he said, “I will take the colonies myself.” And then he added, “Send somebody upstairs with me to show me on the map where these blank places are.” There was a leader, a statesman of Great Britain, who was so ignorant and apathetic regarding the colonies as to speak of them in contemptuous language! There was a time when the central authorities thought that the chief value of colonies was to give an opportunity to men at home to exploit the wealth and productiveness of the various countries under their governmental control. Fortunately that day is long past, and now not merely you in this young nation of Canada but those of other Overseas Dominions are looking forward to the moment when there will be seen the greatest thing the world has ever seen—true Imperial Federation (applause) where the relations of the dependencies and of the colonies with the home country will be of the most intimate and trusted character. One cannot look over the recent history of Great Britain in her relation to colonial and similar responsibilities without being greatly encouraged. Take, for instance, that chapter of history which closed when that magnificent statesman, Lord Cromer, after a quarter of a century of distinguished service, laid down his life work in Egypt. I know of no book more worthy of special study, particularly by those who have to shoulder large responsibilities, than Lord Cromer’s book on Egypt. The work of England has been unselfish in Egypt; it has brought that country from a bankrupt state, with an almost hopeless outlook, to a position of affluence and some aspirations toward complete autonomy. And again, passing over some hideous chapters of colonial misadministration, and of exploitation of India by the East India Company, we come down to a new era in the establishment of the finest Civil Service the world has ever seen, composed of the cleanest type of men, and the attempt to develop India not for the sake of the home country



but for the sake of the Indians themselves. No man who has studied the conditions in the Far East can think without alarm of the withdrawal of Great Britain from India (Applause.) Maybe, in the far distant future, India will rise from racial to national consciousness, and attend to her own housekeeping. Till then, we hope the existing administration will try to live up to the great standard set and perform its duties in a way that will be worthy of the British nation and a credit to all mankind. (Applause.)

It was fortunate for the American people that the Philippine Islands came into their hands at the time they did; and I think that President McKinley's policy was the best we could have adopted. We did not desire dependencies; we did not want to add to the immense territory, undeveloped as it was, which we already had. It seemed—allowing for mistakes that were made—that we were asked that by Providence to take care of this foundling. Shortly after we took over the administration of the Islands, Lord Morley dropped a phrase which was full of meaning: "you Americans," he said, "have in the waters of the Pacific a peril and an opportunity." Only I would like to change the order and say we have an opportunity and a peril, for the opportunity comes first. And McKinley, when he outlined the policy with relation to the Islands, said, "We must use this opportunity to develop the capacity of the people so they will be able ultimately to establish some form of independent government." From the first day when it was known that the responsibility was ours, that policy has been pursued. (Applause.)

The Philippine Islands are peopled by a race of Malay origin, who were Christianized through the influence of Spain some three hundred years ago, and have been under the domination of western countries ever since that time. So in many respects they are allied more to the western than to the Oriental type of thought, and they have a measure of Christianity of course also. The population is about eight millions, the majority being more or less civilized, about one million, roughly speaking, representing primitive people. The vigorous descendants, Mohammedans in belief, of the Malay pirates who used to terrorize that part of the world, inhabit the Islands at the extreme south of the Archipelago.

After the Islands came into the hands of our Government, for a short time they were under military rule. In 1901 civil government was established, and the present President, Wm. H. Taft, became Governor. Since that time they have been greatly developed. I will outline how we have met our responsibility.

Mr. Roosevelt and also Mr. Taft have given utterance from time to time to certain epigrams. I quote two, though we must bear in mind that epigrams are dangerous things as applied to great problems, and need more or less modifying. Here is one: "the Philippines for the Filipinos;" the government has been built up with that in mind. "At present the government of the Philippine Islands is a government of Americans aided by Filipinos; it is our purpose to change this so that eventually it will be a government of Filipinos aided by Americans."

The Government is composed of a Governor-General, appointed by the President of the United States with the consent of the Senate. He has as his Privy Council, so to speak, or rather Cabinet, for this is the truer expression, four American Commissioners and four Filipino Commissioners; these too are appointed by the President of the United States with the consent of the Senate. The function of the Commissioners is in its relation to the rest of the Legislature as a Senate to a House of Representatives.

There are four portfolios held by Commissioners, three at this present time by Americans and one by a Filipino; they are the portfolios of Commerce and Police, Justice and Finance, Education or Public Instruction, and the Interior. That of Justice and Finance is in the hands of a Filipino, Mr. Araneta, an extremely able man. And I should say that amongst the most distinguished men in the Philippines, whether native or foreign, none stands higher than the Chief Justice, Mr. Arellano. A short time since he was given a degree by Yale, and Yale honored herself in so doing! The Chief Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court is a man against whom I have never yet heard an adverse criticism, either as to his ability or as to his character.

The Lower House of the Legislature is composed of eighty-one representatives, elected by the electors of the Philippine Islands. The franchise is given to men of twenty-three years of age—we have no suffragettes in the Philippine Islands yet (laughter)—who have a certain amount of property, or else are able to speak and write English or Spanish, or have held municipal office under the Spanish Government. We have extended the franchise as far as it seems up to date, an expedient thing to do. We are anxious to throw the responsibility of government as quickly as we can upon the whole mass of the people.

The Legislature meets annually. As all law-making rests in its charge there must be a concurrent vote by the two Houses, the Upper House, or Commission, and Lower House, or Popular Assembly, as it is called. The Upper House has

no restriction upon its powers, except that it cannot originate a financial bill. At the present time there is an unfortunate deadlock, therefore the budget of the preceding year continues for the ensuing or current year.

The Governor-General is *ex-officio* President of the Commission. The Vice-Governor is always chosen from the other Commissioners. Both the Governor-General and the Vice-Governor are Americans. The present Governor-General is of noble lineage, his grandfather on one side being John Murray Forbes, the patriot who stood for, and did a great deal in connection with the emancipation of the negroes, and his grandfather on the other side being Ralph Waldo Emerson. So you see we send from America out to the Far East men of the very highest type. I would say that no country can afford to send out into such responsibilities those who are anything less than the best. (Applause.)

Although the Legislature has complete power of enacting laws, all its acts must receive, either implicitly or explicitly, the approval of Congress,—very much the same as in the relation between India and the Parliament of Great Britain: the British Parliament is in the ultimate analysis the governing power of India, but it seldom or never interferes; the same is the case with the Congress of the United States: thus far all the acts of the Philippine Legislature have been effective upon passage, and not blocked in any way by Congress.

There is free trade between the Philippine Islands and the United States. The Philippines are looked upon as being as truly territory of the United States as Arkansas or New Mexico. Two Commissioners, elected annually, have seats in the United States Congress, and reside at Washington, but of course have no vote. The Resident Commissioners this year are Manuel Quezon and Benito Legarda. This, briefly speaking, is the Insular Government of the Archipelago,—which embraces a great number of islands, some three thousand if you count all the little ones, but even the large ones run up to a goodly number.

There is also a Provincial system of government,—there are thirty-eight Provinces altogether,—which is almost entirely in the hands of the natives. They have a certain amount of legislative power in the Provinces. The Treasurer is an appointee of the Insular Government, but otherwise all the offices are in the hands of the people and are given to those whom they choose. Municipal government has also been developed, which is entirely in the hands of the natives. It is mainly of the same kind as you and I are familiar with.



Our judiciary is composed of a Supreme Court of seven Justices, men of a high type,—it is an excellent body, with Chief Justice Arellano at its head; then come the Courts of First Instance; and lastly, the Justices of the Peace. In a case where large interests are concerned, or where a large amount of property is involved, there can be an appeal from the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands to the Supreme Court of the United States. There have been a few cases that have gone there for final decision.

There is what is known as the Moro Province, at the extreme south where there are a half a million Mohammedans. The Moro Province and six other provinces having a population of primitive people, are directly under the Commission. The Commission appoints their Governors and legislates for them.

You will be interested to know about education. We have public schools throughout the Islands. The number of children in the schools is about 650,000. They are taught English. "Why force English upon these Oriental people?" you ask. Because there are some eight or ten main languages in the Islands, and some forty or fifty dialects, and we want to get a "lingua franca." Spanish was never spoken by more than ten per cent. of the people, and as English is the commercial language of the Orient it seemed natural to teach all the Filipinos this tongue. To-day there are more people speaking English in the Philippine Islands than ever spoke Spanish. It is a very interesting thing, for instance, to hear, say a Visayan talking with a Pampangan student in English. The interchange of thought is largely in English among students from various provinces at the Normal School. It would be rather confusing to try to carry on a conversation in any other tongue when in the group there might be those who spoke respectively Tagalog, Vicol, Ilocano, Megindinao, Joloana, Ibinag, or any one of the multitudinous dialects of the Islands. (Laughter.) Knowledge of one dialect does not carry with it ability to understand another. So you see English has a very important part to play. We think it is going to tend to unify the various tribes. (Applause.)

There is a University at Manila. We have made a mistake, such as other nations have made,—we have rather overdeveloped the intellectual side of the native, and not attended to the manual and technical training. We are trying to remedy that, and I believe that under the system that has been inaugurated we shall in a short time have large schools throughout the country in technical and manual instruction. The Filipino, like all Oriental people, is not a specially active person: he

prefers to do something that gives him not too much bodily exertion. It is not that the climate is such a dreadful one—this may clear up some misapprehensions on the subject—or that the diseases which menace foreigners in Eastern lands are so terrible. Frequently that which is attributed to climate is really the result of the bad living of the men themselves. Among the most disastrous habits that can prevail in a tropical country is that of the abuse of intoxicants. What we used to think was the result of self-sacrifice in braving the terrors of the Indian climate—I mean the “Indian liver”—is nothing but a common whisky liver! (Laughter.) As a matter of fact, a man in normal health, who lives a decent life, can expect to live and work in the tropics as well as anywhere else. I don't think I myself am a very bad advertisement for the climate of the Philippine Islands as a health resort! (Laughter.)

Of course you have inconveniences, and some things that are disagreeable. The typhoons, for instance, are no gentle zephyrs, and when the earth gets a fit of ague it is not very comfortable. Or if a volcano takes a notion to blow up, it has unpleasant consequences—on a recent occasion the seismograph in the Manila Observatory showed that we had nine hundred earthquakes in the two weeks following an eruption! Of course most of them were very minor ones, but some few were of considerable force.

As to scientific matters, the American Government has done nobly. It has equipped a magnificent Bureau of Laboratories in the city of Manila, and meteorological work of the highest order is done at the Observatory. I wish I could take time to tell you of some of the things done. Our medical men have made a large contribution to medical science in relation to tropical diseases. One of the most distinguished men on the International Plague Commission, appointed to grapple with the conditions in China on the outbreak of the pneumonic plague, was Dr. R. P. Strong, chief of the Biological Department of the Laboratory at Manila.

Manila is a city of some three hundred thousand people. It is as well drained and clean as your city of Toronto (laughter)—may be cleaner, I don't know—I have only seen Toronto under some dirty snow.

We are doing a large amount of anthropological study, a theoretical study second to none. Once a year the Medical Association meets, a local association which has expanded into the Far Eastern Medical Association; it is making notable contributions to science. A few weeks ago I was spending a day with a famous American, Dr. Osler (a voice—“Can-

adian")—yes, I should say a Canadian—they tried to make him an American but couldn't—and I remarked to him that I hoped they were coming to the root of the disease beri-beri. He said, "Oh, yes. I can show you a report I have just received from the Philippine Islands, which contains the latest conclusions of science on the subject." Sir William is incorporating the results of the research in the Philippine Islands in the revised edition of his *Materia Medica*.

One word about revenue. It is in the neighborhood of 25,000,000 pesos a year, a peso being equivalent to fifty cents. How much do the Philippines cost the American Government to run? Nothing! They never have cost anything, but have been entirely self-supporting from the outset. There was one large contribution (\$3,000,000) in a time of great stress, but that was the only one. The land tax, the internal revenue, and customs duties, form the great bulk of the revenue; so the Islands are self-sustaining.

Just one other phase of my subject I want to touch on, the most important of all: that is, Christian work. (Hearty applause.) I have come to learn, since I went to the Far East, the place that Christianity must hold in civilization. It must hold the supreme place, or civilization is going to crumble into dust, you men who make up civilization will fail, and your manhood will be lost. Christianity is essential to the world to-day as it never was in the history of the world during the past. We have reached a stage in the development of the human mind when the strain is too much unless you have high ideals and moral support, such as can come from Christian belief alone. (Applause.) It must be no half-hearted Christianity, it must be a Christianity of the whole man. Lots of Christianity trades under that noble name, but it is so poor that it is dynamically worthless, and we don't want it! It must be the Christianity of Jesus, that spends itself in loyal service for one's fellow man, that is not afraid to look up into the face of God and call Him Father, that counts it the greatest privilege and blessing of all to approach Him in times of weakness and of strength, in times of sorrow and of joy. If there is one fine thing America has done for the Filipinos marking it out as a Providential thing that it came into charge of the Islands, it is the Christian work done there. The work done by the Christian Church through Spain for the Filipinos has been a great thing for them; it has raised those people above any other people of Malay stock, and it needs only very superficial observation to see the difference that is made by the power of even an imperfect Christianity, as the Christianity of the past has been in the Philippine Islands,—the difference



it makes in them from the people who have been under the domination we will say of the Mohammedan belief.

And therefore it is because I am mainly and first of all a Christian, and secondly an American, that I am in the Philippine Islands. I am there to try to aid these people, it is true, to develop themselves to the utmost of their capacity, so they will be able to attend to their own affairs and govern their own country; but chiefly that I may in some simple way deepen and extend the Kingdom of God. I cannot refrain from saying this, in conclusion, to you who form such a splendid bulwork of this city and of Canada itself. Canada is calling to you to-day for your very best service; but you cannot be your very best unless your life is in touch with God. Why should we be ashamed of speaking of things of this kind, why should we speak of them generally under our breath, when of commerce and other things we talk in trumpet tones? Rather let it be the other way; let us boast of the fact that we are first of all sons of God and after that sons of our nation. Then we shall be able to go out and do the big things our country expects us to do. (Applause.)

There is running through my memory at this time one of Browning's poems. If I remember it rightly the lines are these:—

Nobly, nobly Cape Saint Vincent to the Northwest died away;  
Sunset ran, one glorious blood-red, reeking into Cadiz Bay;  
Bluish 'mid the burning water, full in face Trafalgar lay;  
In the dimmest Northeast distance dawned Gibraltar grand  
and gray;

"Here and here did England help me: how can I help England?"—say,

Whoso turns as I, this evening, turn to God to praise and pray,  
While Jove's planet rises yonder, silent over Africa.

"Here and here has England helped me." Gentlemen, your country has made you what you are! Your Church has made you what you are! Now, what are you going to do for your country? What are you going to do for your Church? One of your own members said to me just a moment ago: "It is a fine thing to die for the nation, to give your life for the nation." But there is a bigger war cry than that: "For God and the nation!" (Long applause.)

(March 18th, 1912.)

## The Coal Strike in Great Britain.

BY MR. HARRY PHILLIPS.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club held on March 18th, 1912, Mr. Harry Phillips said:

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen*,—Forgive me if I say to you, should there be any Americans in this audience, but I feel that to come to Toronto is like coming to one's home after being amidst the cosmopolitan and strange life of New York. I am sure you will pardon the pleasure I feel at again being able to see my King's name on a postage stamp. (Applause.)

You have asked me to speak about the coal strike in Great Britain. Allow me to correct slightly what the chairman has said as to the right I have to speak on this question. I was living in West Ham, that great industrial centre of East London, when the workingmen did me the honor of electing me for nine years as Alderman in the County Council, and also Deputy Mayor; and another honor they conferred upon me, which was very welcome to me, was that the Dock Laborers made me their Honorary Trustee, and I am also Honorary President of the Coal Workers of London. Therefore I speak to you as a business man like yourselves and at the same time as one who has large sympathy with industrial questions.

To me the strike which is raging in England to-day is the outward expression of the evolution and progress of the working people, and underneath it is the unrest which has existed for the past ten or fifteen years in the life of the English workingman. It is the outward expression, the eruption which bespeaks the burning heat of the blood within. But, in England, the press, the public, both sides of the Government whether Conservative or Liberal, public opinion, the Church, have all been educating the workingman. We have given him free education, free libraries, beautiful picture galleries, and in the University settlements the Universities have been seeking to come in touch with him. We have been teaching him that his home should be sanitary, his food healthful. We have been creating a divine discontent, urging him towards

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\*Mr. Harry Phillips was long alderman and afterwards Deputy Mayor of West Ham, London, England. A business man, he was elected Honorary Trustee of the London Dock Laborers, and also Honorary President of the Coal Workers of London. His experiences in these capacities fitted him to speak on the coal strike.

entering into fuller manhood. And now the workingman is beginning to say: "My education is complete, and I ask for the means to enter into this larger manhood you have been teaching me." Governments, Liberal and Conservative, have gone to the workingmen in the mass, and told them, "You can make or unmake governments, yours is the arm of power to-day." "It is this heaven of the more ideal life I am speaking of," replies the workingman. "You are asking me to enjoy a bigger life, and have more of heaven, and we are now asking for the means to enter into that larger, bigger life, that brotherhood taught us by the churches." People are panic struck, and say, "Oh, we didn't mean it that way." But the workingmen reply, "Well, we do, if you don't."

So I look upon it as an evolution, the evolution of industrial and financial conditions. The great business men have been building up combines and trusts, in America the Steel Trust and others, and so in my own country. Most combines are formed by bringing science to bear upon business. When I stood last week in front of Niagara Falls and looked at that wonderful sight, behind the rush and roar I seemed to hear the whisper of the power that drives the electricity, to heat, and light, and drive your city cars. The workingman sees that, he sees how capital increases its power, and says "I will learn that lesson; I must combine in my millions, because I have no capital to combine at the bank."

The workingmen are combining for what I submit is a fairer and more reasonable share of the wealth they produce. Gentlemen, I am no Socialist. A man was talking with me about the right of workingmen to combine, and he said, "I should disband these unions and shoot the leaders." Well, gentlemen, with the greatest respect, I should say to him, "You are talking out of the back of your head! These men are struggling for a principle; you may shoot the leaders, but you cannot shoot a principle,—that will rise again the third day."

I remember Mr. John Burns telling me a little story. He was standing one day by the dock gates, when he had time more than he has now to stand at the dock gates, and he heard some dockers discussing a limited liability company. He was amused at the definition given by one of the men. He put it this way: "You and me and Bill, us three, we form a limited liability company; and each one of us puts twopence in. Bill, you get six pen'orth of tobacco. This is the property of the limited liability company. You light your pipe, and I'll light up mine." But Bill said, "What about me? I put in a share



too." The other replied, "But Jack an' me are the managing directors, and we smoke. You are the shareholder, you've got to spit." And the thinking workingman to-day declines simply to spit. He asks for a fairer share. He has learned the power of organization, and says: "If I am to succeed I must put the whole of my army into the field at once; there must be no reserves." Believe me, the day of petty, sectional strikes is done forever, the workingmen have seen the power of great combinations, and this has changed their ideas. There is now an army of capital and an army of labor, and the more each is organized, I believe, the more it is for the best, for where trouble arises the people will say, "You two must come to peace, for the country must go on with its business." I believe in a great standing army to enforce the demands of the nation. A few years ago in Germany there was danger of a conflict. On the one side, however, the Rothschilds, who supplied the funds to the Government, said, "If you go to war, we will refuse you the money," and labor on the other hand said, "We refuse to fight, there is no need for it." The result was, Germany did not go to war.

This great universal suffering is but the birth pang, which will yet bring forth a better condition, a recognition of co-operation, co-partnership between master and man, and sooner or later it must come to that. That, I believe, is the line we are working to.

As to the demands of the miners. The men are asking for a minimum wage, a living wage, not a starvation pittance. People speak of a living wage as if it were just above the line of starvation. It has to be more than that! So far as I understand, from an official letter which I received last Saturday, the men ask one shilling an hour, that is, about twenty-five cents an hour. I submit that demand is fair. For a man working underground, as I have seen the coal men many a time in the north of England and in Wales, half naked, picking away in the darkness, hundreds of feet underground, a shilling an hour is not too high for a minimum wage. Would any of you, or would I, work for eight hours underground for a shilling an hour? The demand is a fairly moderate one. In fact, if I am rightly informed, sixty per cent. of the mine owners have already agreed to that minimum wage. The mine owners are divided, but the men are united. At present the difficulty is the difficulty of the seams; one seam is much easier to get at than another, so there is the difficulty of making the pay of the men correspond to the hardness of their work. Then there is the difficulty of getting water down into the mine, and so on, difficulties the men cannot control at all.

So there they stand, claiming, I submit, a fair wage. The outlook is a new outlook, but it will not be new always. The Government now has to step in, representing the whole nation, and it must say to the two sides: "You are hanging up—no matter who is doing it, the mine-owner or the miner, the capitalist or the workingman—a daily need, an essential of the daily life of the people; and no man in God's England, be he mine-owner or miner, has the right to do that."

Gentlemen, I am no Socialist! Socialism would take over everybody and everything, and say you must nationalize all the wealth. What I say is, "You mine-owners hold a monopoly: there is no great competition in coal; competition does not affect it like the automobile manufacturing business, or the steel works, or a great store like Mr. Eaton's, for the people are in fact all dependent on your mines, you control one of the great necessities of the people. We shall not interfere with you, but you must not corner coal, or put it under bad management, or do anything else that will cause you to say, "We can't go on producing coal." It hangs up the factories, and brings hardship to the people. The poor people in London have to pay \$10 a ton for coal. So because the Government is an elected government, if they can't govern let them quit! They must govern for the whole people, not for a section of the people, not for a few, but for the millions of workmen as well as for the mine-owners.

So this Government has now reached a time, because it is a Liberal Government, when it will have to step in and say, "You must either come to terms, and set the coal free, and let England get along, or we shall have to interfere, either by nationalization or subsidizing or something." I am not scared of nationalization. I am not a Socialist, but we have nationalized the post office and the telegraph and the telephone. Why should we be scared of the nationalization of another daily need, if either master or man attempt to corner it?

I believe that out of this will come a settlement that will make for progress and peace. When you look at a man, when the man is at work he is just an ordinary workingman; but when the workingman goes on strike, people say "Call out the soldiers, the police." Yet I believe that in the hearts of the great mass of the people justice rules. Seven-eighths of the people believe in industrial peace and concord; nobody believes that the strike, the lock-out, with their attendant hunger and want, are necessary things. At heart we believe in peace, therefore I say, that the majority of the people, consciously or unconsciously, believe in peace. And the time is coming when capital is to see labor as a partner, and labor will look on

capital as a partner. I am not talking wild, burning words, or an impractical dream: for at Cadbury's, and Rowntree's, at the Thames Iron Works, at Levy's Soap Works, and at Livessy's Gas Works in South London, we have co-partnership, and there they have no serious trouble, but by the profit-sharing the man is interested, he realizes that he is no mere machinery. I believe that here in Canada you have some examples of the same method.

Gentlemen, I want that you and I, who form public opinion, who have cast ourselves on the side of industrial peace, shall say to the Government: "Call these men back; this must not go on." If they will not or cannot manage their business in such a way as to prevent this strife, we will find others who will manage it. It may mean less dividends. I believe these men will have to expect less dividends; the day of big dividends has gone forever. This is not Socialism, taking over everything, but affects the essentials that no man has a right to own, these essentials to the daily life of the people. Some people will have to be content with smaller dividends, so that these men who risk life and limb may have a fair living wage. They stand solidly together, making the moderate demand that every man shall have the means to bring up as he ought to his wife and child and to keep his home together. The men are becoming more thinking, and much more temperate, not because of prohibition but because of education. All sorts of things have given him a wider outlook. (Applause.) I close by saying, there is no need for panic. This great war that is raging to-day, if I have any right information, will end this week. Gentlemen, let us learn the lesson!

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(March 25th, 1912.)

## Nova Scotia, and its Relation to Confederation.

BY HON. A. K. MACLEAN, M.P.\*

AT a regular luncheon of the Canadian Club held on the 25th March, Hon. A. K. MacLean said:

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club of Toronto*,—I suppose it is unnecessary to assure you of my appreciation of the honor which you do me to-day in asking me to address your club upon matters referable to my native Province of Nova Scotia. In the several addresses which have been given before the Club, I understand, gentlemen from the various provinces have accentuated Provincial developments. It is always better to accentuate national rather than Provincial views. The shibboleth of Provincial rights is one I have heard frequently in my lifetime; it never had very great attraction for me, but it is one to be regarded and thought of. But I regard it as the duty of all Canadians from whatever provinces they come to take a larger view of national life. But still it may not be impossible to take pride in one another's history, and in the achievements of the men who have shed lustre upon these various provinces.

The chairman in introducing me said my subject was to be "Nova Scotia and its Relation to Confederation." That was not the task assigned me by your secretary, but the herculean, one of telling about Nova Scotia from its early history up to Confederation, with some remarks upon the struggle for Confederation, the history of its later days, and then were to be added some thoughts on the future of the Province. That would be a task indeed, for the history of Nova Scotia takes one back practically to the discovery of America. If I were to attempt to cover such a large amount of ground, I might heartily wish the task had been given to one more worthy to perform it. You perhaps have heard of the irreverent but practical man who said he felt like a dog

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with tallow legs chasing an asbestos cat in that perhaps now lost territory—Hades. I admit, Mr. President and gentlemen, that the task I have is somewhat different, and the location at least is different, because I am in Toronto, and the company is very much better, because I am with my fellow Canadians, the members of the Canadian Club of Toronto. (Laughter.)

Now, Mr. President and gentlemen, I must naturally be discursive, but I hope I may be brief. Let me refer briefly to the history of Nova Scotia, a history rich in romance and adventure, in war and massacre, in devotion and sacrifice, in politics and public men. The first to visit Nova Scotia were the Norsemen, who came from Iceland, more than nine hundred years ago, but their history was forgotten and Nova Scotia had to be rediscovered.

In 1497, five years after Columbus discovered America, Cabot, under a charter received from Henry VII., traversed Nova Scotia. He founded no settlement, but his arrival there laid the foundation for the claim to North America by future kings of England.

The first people to plant a colony there were the French, who in 1604 established one at Port Royal, now Annapolis, the leaders in this expedition being the noblemen *Sieur De Monts* and *Samuel de Champlain*. This settlement was afterwards abandoned.

In 1620, or thereabouts, King James I. gave his kinsman, Sir William Alexander, the grant of the country then called Acadia, and in the charter that country was first called New Scotland, but it was in Latin in the charter—Nova Scotia—and it was at this time that the province obtained this name, which is the only memorial of the settlement by Sir William Alexander, as it proved a failure.

In 1632 Charles I. ceded the country back to France, and it was again known as Acadia. Oliver Cromwell recovered it, and it was once more Nova Scotia. In 1667 Charles II. ceded it back to France, and it was called Acadia once more. After the expulsion of King James II. Acadia once again became British territory, having been captured by British forces which went out with a fleet from Boston. In 1697 William III. restored Acadia to the French, and the name Nova Scotia was once more lost. After the war of 1713 Nova Scotia again, and for the last time returned to the British domain. Acadia was heard of for the last time, and Nova Scotia has ever since remained British territory, except that the Isle of Cape Breton was occupied by the French until it ultimately became part of the British territory in 1759.

That briefly is the history of Nova Scotia, and it discloses a great deal of territorial seesawing as you will see, but I am sure we who live to-day are proud of the ultimate destiny of that province, that, if you please, it finally and forever became a part of the British Dominion. (Applause.)

Again, the matter of the people who settled in the province is an important thing, as it is in any province, for after all it is the personal equation which determines the importance and the future of any country in this world. Sir John Bourinot designates some four or five main epochs in the settlement of the Province of Nova Scotia. First, the French settlement, to which I have already referred, which was confined to the western portion, a period of feuds, which ended in that regrettable incident, in 1755, the expulsion of the Acadians, a historical incident remembered in history, poetry and song.

Halifax was founded in 1749 under Lord Cornwallis and Governor Shirley. Then there followed a small German settlement, in 1753 I think, chiefly in the county of Lunenburg, west of Halifax, which I had at one time the honor of representing in the House of Commons.

Following that there were two streams of settlement from New England, one a pre-loyalist movement, which preceded the American Revolution, taking place in 1749, supplemented by an immigration in 1760. These New England settlers were a splendid type of men, and from them sprang many men who afterwards became illustrious in my native province. Subsequent to the American Revolution there was a further American settlement in that province, as there was in the Province of Ontario north of Lake Ontario. The immigration received from the United Empire Loyalists was a splendid contribution to the population of that province. I may say the same of this stream of New England immigration as of the pre-loyal immigration which preceded it, that it included many men who were distinguished in New England and many of their sons became eminent in Nova Scotia.

There was another very important settlement in the Province of Nova Scotia, known as the Scotch people, and you will pardon me, I am sure, when I say that any province might be proud to receive a settlement from this race of people. (Applause.) There was, as I before stated, an attempted settlement by Sir William Alexander, who was created Baron of Nova Scotia, but this settlement failed, the only trace of it being in the name of Nova Scotia. But in 1773 there was an immigration of thirty Scotch families to Pictou, and this was followed by a number of others up till



1820, and altogether the province received quite a Scotch settlement. We owe to these Scotch pioneers a great deal of that which is best in the province. I think Dr. Falconer will agree with me when I say that to them we owe the foundation of the splendid school system which subsequently obtained in that province, and from that race have come men who became distinguished in arts, letters, science, theology, law, politics, and many other spheres. Let me repeat, that in my judgment the province probably owes more to these Scotch settlers than to any others who came there.

Passing to another important question, let me say that the Province of Nova Scotia was the first part of the Dominion to have representative government. In October, 1758, the Legislature was elected by the people and met at Halifax, since which year the Legislature of that province has continuously ever sat. Now this event preceded the organization of the United States of America by eighteen years; then, and for five years later, Ontario and Quebec were under French rule; up to that time no Englishman had seen Australia or New Zealand; there were no British dominions in South Africa; and it was not until a century afterwards that British Columbia became a Crown colony. You will thus see that Nova Scotia holds the primacy in politics among her sister provinces in the Canadian Confederacy. This has given the people of that province a century and a half's experience in the science of self-government and established political traditions. It was due to this, possibly, that Joseph Howe, the beloved Tribune of the People of that province, was able to teach the British Government some lessons in democratic government in this country.

It is often said—I have often had it said to me by friends and acquaintances, some of them from Ontario—that Nova Scotians had an aptitude for politics; indeed, some critical ones have ventured to say that Nova Scotians devoted altogether too much time to politics. I would not apologize for the interest we have taken in the past in politics: I do not think we take in it any more interest than we should; I doubt whether we take any more than you do. It is the greatest question of all that can concern any province; it is synonymous with questions of State and humanity; any province should give to politics the very best men it has, and in doing so I say it will render a great service to the State and the people of our country. (Applause.)

The establishment of its first Legislature marks a very important epoch in the history of my native province. The Canadian Club of Halifax sometime ago suggested the idea

of the erection of a tower to commemorate this event. The President of the Canadian Club, Mr. McGillivray, of the Bank of Commerce—I suppose he is from Bruce, Ontario, by the name—is one of the most active in the movement. It has been proposed that there might be a cash contribution by every province and every self-governing Dominion, and also by the United Kingdom. The interior of the tower will serve as a museum, and many interesting mementoes will be placed therein, among other articles from St. Malo, from which Jacques Cartier sailed; and from Brouages, in Normandy, the home place of Samuel de Champlain. You will therefore see that this is one important fact about our history, and one of which we naturally feel proud.

In Nova Scotia we had our fight for what we term responsible government, as you had in Ontario. I need, however, say little concerning this part of the matter. Responsible government in Nova Scotia was won by orderly means, by lawful, constitutional methods. Joseph Howe, the leader of that movement, always counselled moderation, while the leaders in Quebec and Ontario, Papineau and Mackenzie, frequently, I regret to say, exhorted their followers to acts and operations which Joseph Howe always advised against. I think the methods of that province, on the whole, were the best.

The next matter to which I would like to allude, and very briefly, is Confederation. It has often been inquired of Nova Scotians why they protested so strongly against union, and continued to do so after Confederation was an accomplished fact. Confederation came about, so far as Ontario and Quebec were concerned, by reason of the unfortunate feuds between those provinces, and Confederation was a necessary result to overcome this. In Nova Scotia, however, conditions were different: we had a contented people, we were a sovereign State ever since the founding of the first legislature in 1758; and I think it fair for me to say, it was only natural that we felt proud of our past. It was a bitter struggle, and the bitterness remained for some years after the union was consummated.

Confederation was first mooted in 1864, by James W. Johnson, leader of the Conservative party, an able and patriotic man. Joseph Howe, his political opponent at the time, was not very enthusiastic in favor of the proposal, but he invoked the wider moral influence of the mother country and of the colonies. In 1864, I think it was, a conference was held at Charlottetown, and it decided to reconvene at Quebec where union was decided upon, the delegates agreeing to the

same. The Nova Scotia Legislature at that time approved of the scheme of Confederation by a considerable majority, 31 to 19. The Premier of the province was Dr. Tupper, now Sir Charles Tupper. The anti-confederates sent a delegation to London to oppose the consummation of the union by the passage of the British North America Act, but failed. Joseph Howe and some of his friends went to London to oppose the consummation of the union even then, but also failed. Shortly after there were two elections, one for the House of Commons at Ottawa, and one for the Provincial Legislature. Only one out of nineteen of the members elected to the House of Commons, Sir Charles Tupper, and only two out of thirty-eight of those elected for the Provincial Legislature, were favorable to Confederation. It was therefore natural that those opposed to Confederation should continue their agitation against it. As a matter of fact, they sent a petition to London asking for its repeal. Sir Charles Tupper and Mr. Howe were opposed to one another on the question, but later Sir Charles suggested to Sir John A. Macdonald to see Mr. Howe, in order to obtain his co-operation if possible. An interview was held later between Sir John Rose, Minister of Finance of the day, and Mr. Howe. Sir John Rose offered better terms to the province, which he accepted, and he also accepted a seat in the Cabinet of Sir John A. Macdonald, and ceased his struggle against Confederation. Howe died at Government House. The position which Howe took was not that of protest against union if terms satisfactory could be arranged, but he objected to the arbitrary action of the Nova Scotia Legislature in saying the province should go in; he held that it should be put to the electors, and if they assented it would be all right then. I think the position he took was consistently sound. However, in the end Confederation was consummated. There is now no opposition, and in all Canada no people are imbued with the national spirit to a greater degree than the people of Nova Scotia, and among them those who in earlier days were opposed to Confederation. (Applause.)

Now let me pass to another point, I have been asked a hundred times if I have been asked once, by people I have met and who belong to the Province of Ontario, "Why has Nova Scotia not developed to a greater degree than she has since 1867?" This is a very difficult question to answer. It is a very interesting problem to think and talk about, but it is impossible for me to answer that question. We have often asked it of ourselves, so we don't object to the question if asked by others. There are many reasons contributing: in



part historical, in part political, accident and heredity have played a part, and I suppose had I time I might suggest other causes contributory. Let me put to you as briefly as I can the conditions, commercially, preceding Confederation. In the first place, our natural resources were then plentiful and cheaply produced. Then again, in the pioneering days the wants of these people were simple, there was sufficient labor for the population, and we retained our natural increase of population. We had then wooden shipping in plentiful numbers, cheaply constructed and manned by Nova Scotians. We had our transportation agents throughout the world, and did a great deal of the carrying trade for the countries of the world. Again, we were the makers of our own tariff, and you can understand that it was a very easy thing in a small province like Nova Scotia to make a tariff adjustable to the needs of that particular day. Again, our trade relations with the West Indies and the United States were very good, and with these countries we were doing a very great deal of trade. We were comparatively a prosperous people, and at least I may venture the statement that at that time nobody was asking why was not the Crown colony of Nova Scotia increasing in population. There is this further to be remembered about the province, especially when compared with Ontario, that territorially we are very small, but half the size of England, one-third less than Scotland, with a population now of 483,000, about 120,000 greater than in 1867. Such, in my judgment, were the conditions prevalent before Confederation. I only speak of what was told me, because I was born a Canadian myself, and was not made one by the British North America Act of 1867.

At Confederation the Provincial tariff necessarily dislocated our trade channels and changed the classes of our trade. Again, wooden shipping declined, not only in Nova Scotia but throughout the world. Our trade and commerce was naturally affected by these conditions. Our trade relations with the United States changed, because the old Reciprocity Treaty, which ended just before Confederation, was followed by a high tariff in the United States that had the effect naturally of destroying quite considerably our trade.

There is this other fact:—pre-Confederation conditions made Nova Scotians, I think, a trading as distinguished from a commercial and industrial people. We were not an industrial people before Confederation; we were a trading people, that was about all we did. A more commercial and industrial people would be quick to retrieve the losses incident to the dislocation of their usual business. But we did not obtain new markets. We lack the instinctive commercial aggressive-

ness which the people of Ontario possess. Some think that is a good thing; some think that commercialism is objectionable. I don't imagine I would get a cheer if I attempted to preach a doctrine of that kind, and I am not going to do it. (Laughter.)

Development was prevented somewhat for the want of transportation facilities to get into other provinces if we had anything to sell. You remember the Intercolonial Railroad was to be built as one of the terms of Confederation. It was built, but it landed nowhere that it was actually of practical importance to get. Still my opinion is, that if the Intercolonial had been, in the early days of Confederation, constructed by a corporation and by it operated, there would have been closer relations between the people and the railway, and a fuller realization of their common interests. It was an insurmountable condition connected with a Government-owned and operated railroad at that stage of its history. I do not say whether I would suggest the advisability of a change now, but I wish that the aggressiveness and ambition of a corporate railroad system had been available for connecting the Maritime with the other provinces at the union or shortly after, for then the commercial history of Nova Scotia would have been very much different.

In consequence of these conditions, and the lack of industrial life, there followed a period of emigration from the province. Naturally a large number went to the United States, where to-day there are several hundred thousands, I believe, of the sons and daughters of Nova Scotians residing. Then there came in the history of Canada that period when the provinces generally were holding their own population, and immigrants came. It was only natural that the first signs of national development should be seen in the larger provinces of Ontario and Quebec. These two were larger, and stronger in every respect, and the immigration worked to the disadvantage—such always has been history—of the smaller provinces, the Maritime Provinces. And we continued to lose our population. Our emigration from the Province of Nova Scotia hereafter was not so large to the United States as to Western Canada. And the emigration from Nova Scotia to this part of Canada still continues.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there is just one matter I would like to refer to in that connection—Western emigration. The emigration from Nova Scotia to the United States was regrettable and unavoidable. We are losing many sons and daughters to the West, but I think it is neither regrettable nor avoidable. We hear a great many people complain of the

emigration of the young people to the West. Instead, I regard it as a matter for Provincial and national congratulation. Charles Dickens once said that an Anglo-Saxon would refuse admittance to Heaven unless he had an undertaking that he could move west if he wanted to. (Laughter.) This is true of Canada. A nation, like a child, has its formative period, and the best impressions are made by the first settlers; therefore it was very important that they should be good settlers, so that British traditions and British ideals of justice in government and civil liberty should be planted before the great influx of immigration, which has been coming in in recent years and will continue for years to come. It was very desirable that Eastern Canada should blaze the trail, but it is just as important to trail the blaze, as they too are doing, and I hope will still do in the future! (Applause.) The people who have lost their sons for this purpose, I say, are rendering a great service to the nation.

Now, Mr. Speaker (Laughter)—Mr. President, there might be and are many things which I would like to refer to, but I find my time is rapidly going, and I must close. You may ask me, "What of the future of Nova Scotia?" I say, it is hopeful! The star of her commercial and industrial development is on the horizon, and I believe will shine forth with great splendor. There is nothing, in my judgment, to prevent it. There were reasons for our lack of development in the past, but these impediments are passing away, and we are coming to a time when conditions are favorable to development. Our geography and our maritime position, which once militated against us, will be instruments operating in our favor in the future. We have a splendid homogeneous population, an excellent climate, intelligent labor, our methods of agriculture are improving, by means of technical schools we are endeavoring to educate our young people in industries. For these and many other reasons, I believe the Province of Nova Scotia will soon see a development which will give her that commercial importance and eminence which I believe you people of Ontario would like her to have. (Applause.)

But whether we get it or not, I shall assure you, gentlemen, that you will find Nova Scotians always willing in the future as in the past to contribute everything in their power to solve all social, political, national and imperial problems which come before this country for solution, always willing to play their part in the national development of the country.



(April 1st, 1912.)

## Labrador and its People.

BY DR. W. T. GRENFELL, C.M.G.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club held on April 1st, 1912, Dr. Grenfell said:

*Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,*—I am sure I thank you very heartily for what has been said; I only wish I deserved the half of it; but a great deal of the credit which I absorb is really due to the men and women who are working with me. There are those from this city who have been working with me, nurses and doctors and people in the mechanical departments of our work. To them, whose names are unknown, I shall hope to convey some of the kind expressions of the feeling you have expressed towards me. I thank you again very heartily.

The problem I am going to speak about should rather go to a lawyer than a doctor. I cannot claim among other functions that of lawyer, although I have been the custodian of those people and their magistrate for a number of years, but being a magistrate does not involve with us any knowledge of law (laughter), and I think we are allowed to retain our position largely because we have no lawyers to interpret the law to us. And I even think we have nearly succeeded in demonstrating that equity is at least as rapid as and less expensive than some processes of law. I still look upon the medical profession as the one which has contributed most satisfaction to my life. I am a surgeon, and like my colleagues come out to sit at the feet of your Gamaliels of learning to get the axioms they have worked out. We try them on a clinical basis. But what I want to do—it seems rather presumptuous to try to do it—is to try to defend the

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\*Dr. Wilfred Thomason Grenfell is chiefly known for the remarkable and self-sacrificing work which he has done for the fishing population of the bleak Labrador coast. A graduate of Oxford University, he has devoted his splendid abilities to caring for the physical and spiritual welfare of his adopted children. He has rescued them from the clutches of the mercantile monopoly which long ground them down, he has given them hospitals, and above all he has taken them the consolations of the Christian religion. To meet him is to know that he gets more real satisfaction out of his hard life of service than do any who seek enjoyment in the lap of luxury. He is the author of several interesting books on Labrador.

Almighty for having made Labrador. (Laughter and applause.)

I am perfectly sure that is as much in Dr. Cody's line as mine, but all I can say is, if I were to be looked upon as a person who would try to suppose that the manufacture of Labrador was not entirely a mistake, I should be on a par with others who in former times prophesied that anyone would propose to run a railway through the prairies. We all know how the author of "Looking Backward" or some such book tells of a man who stubbed his toes against a piece of wood in the prairie, the remains of a tie of a railway, and wondered that any fools should have tried to build a railway there.

A portion of Labrador has really been overcome, and is fit for human habitation. A great many people who live there would not exchange with the people who live on the prairies, or with those who live among automobiles and pink teas, long boas and ruffs; they don't wish to exchange their kind of life which they love for that of the great cities and factories, or other places, where the monotony of life is much more pronounced than it is in Labrador at present. I sent up quite a number of our people to other places who were not making good in Labrador, but quite a number of them came back. One man who was in a good job on construction work for the Canadian Pacific in Montreal told me he had to live in a cottage in a row, he worked six days a week, but never had a "spell," and if he wished to swing a cat there was not room to do it without hitting something, so he came back.

I think Labrador will always have a population, though a great many people have been watching what I have been doing in British Columbia, because they thought that if we were going to try a wholesale deportation it would be a hostile act. I have come to the conclusion that there is nothing you can try to do for anybody that is not a "hostile act" to somebody, so you have to go on record as treading on somebody's toes.

Looking at British Columbia, it is eighteen years since I was out there before. A great deal of development has taken place. The only question is the fisheries of the North Pacific, as I saw them at Tacoma, Seattle, Vancouver and Victoria, which at present are richer than those of Labrador. It seems strange that in Boston, with a high tariff on fish, people should eat fish in Boston and pay less for it after bringing it from the Pacific—three fish are caught in the Pacific and sent three thousand miles across to every one caught in the

Atlantic. It is even more so in New York, where five fish are going from the Pacific to one from the Atlantic. But all the same, even the fishing on the Pacific coast is beginning to show the same thing, the need of increasing the kinds of fisheries, just as they are scattering on the Labrador coast. The regulations are not sufficiently rigid; conservation must be applied to the fish trade. It is worthy of anybody's attention to conserve animal life as well as vegetable, both in the United States and Canada. In an experimental sense we adopt some kind of plant which does not grow in a district now, and enable it to grow there; the distribution of plants on the surface being somewhat fortuitous; just so with animals. We have left animals to be exploited and diminished, more on the sea than on land. Anyone can see we have not as many Buffalo as there used to be. We should get back to the principles of conservation. The quantities of musk-ox are being depleted. We have great lessons to learn yet in the care of reindeer. A country like the barren lands of the Mackenzie River is capable of carrying an enormous quantity of wild deer. In Labrador some years ago these deer were very numerous, but forest fires, bad treatment by Indians, and indiscriminate slaughter of them at all times, depleted their numbers greatly.

Well, I have been in the Northwest, and seen many splendid positions for people to go to from Labrador, and they have gone, in spite of the fact that there are laws which I believe deal with contract labor—and there are many lawyers probably in this meeting—still we got a good many offers of contract labor for our people, for fishing, for whaling and other purposes. A number of families got good situations, and I think it was well for them to go out and have a chance before they were dead.

While Labrador is very backward, nobody has the right to say it is a land of Cain and fit only for the refuse of the earth. There is absolutely no way of getting anything out of Labrador or in there, there is no railroad anywhere, there is no railroad farther than Mingan and Seven Islands, eight hundred miles away. Even the steamboat in the summer is very uncertain, one comes from Quebec, we never know when she is coming. There was none for several years, and last year the service was practically nil. The east side is just as bad. No man reads. You can't travel by motor. There are no bridges, and there is no way of getting about at all. The difficulty is that we are cut off except for six months in the summer time. It is almost impossible for prospectors or anybody to go in or give any attention to that country.



We are not ashamed of that. For my own part I believe that a railroad will yet run there, and it will not be long, I think, before mineral wealth will be discovered in Labrador. There were people all over the Northwest before they supposed it was of any great value. When Selkirk discovered Alaska the British thought so little of it, that they easily gave it away; they did not realize its value, or the map would not look so queer; and now Alaska is giving its gold.

The lessons have been well rubbed into every Canadian of the value of his own Northwest. We call attention to the area of wheat, and the shortening time of growth. When I was in Seattle the other day they were selling reindeer meat at twenty cents a pound; it is a luxury; but it is being exported from the domestic herds of Alaska, which were planted in that country only seventeen or eighteen years ago, and they were taken there under great opposition. You will remember what a cry was raised about "alienating" money from missions when that man of foresight, Dr. Sheldon Jackson, introduced the reindeer into Alaska; yet I fancy he will be remembered not only for what good he has done as caretaker of men's souls, but probably more for his reindeer-ology than his theology—though no doubt that was good. (Laughter.) One thing certain—he was a Presbyterian and he ought to be orthodox. But the natives that are living there have been saved altogether from going down to the mining camps, and into sin and vice, by that simple device. They are tending well over thirty thousand deer, for a number have been brought over regularly every year for ten years. The deer are prolific; those fawned in May will fawn the next May. I have twenty thousand at a minimum in Labrador. You can't "alienate" funds from your hospitals to put into experiments of that kind. But when you come to talk of modern missionary work, I think people look at it in the light of an interpretation of foreign missions which needs a little adjustment.

The other day I was at dinner in a house—and there were ladies on both sides of me who had enough jewels on them to run a hospital—one of them asked me if I was a missionary; she did it in such a tone as if that were a sort of stuffed monkey. She seemed to think that life is given us to be a sort of peripatetic carrier of ornaments!

Some people think Labrador is absolutely useless. Well, that "alienation" of \$15,000 brought in three hundred reindeer. I had to sell fifty to help me out on the venture. The two hundred and fifty multiplied regularly, and this year I

sold another fifty, which have gone to Athabaska with three of our own herders—for we have sent the Lapps back. We have killed off the superfluous stags, and we still have eight hundred and fifty left. Perhaps the beginning has been simple; but the text of a sermon is often simple; and I believe the experiment is justifying itself completely. If some other people would take up the enterprise, I believe that the export of meat would be made profitable. My own impression is that Labrador would carry three or four million reindeer. The skin of the reindeer in the fall when the coat is just coming off is worth three or four dollars, and if tanned it makes valuable and excellent material for motor coats and other things. At present the skins mostly go to Germany. With us, the skins are used first as mats, and then when the hair is worn off they are taken up and used as clothes. A gentleman told me he had made a fortune by discovering a machine to take the hair off the hides. I do not know any reason why a country which is now not known for anything else than its mosses and lichens, why Labrador could not add to the meat-producing areas of Canada. The meat of the reindeer is just as good as that of other *bovidæ*, it is nourishing, and bland to the taste. There is no question that our Lapps have developed the business without scientific attention. The milk is rich, creamy and excellent, and can be used, as we have proved, though we have used it only in a small way, for we want to make the deer multiply. We are sterilizing the milk and putting it up in cans, and this is helping to prove the value of the experiment.

This is only one way in which Labrador can be used. About ten years ago the only way in which it was thought the country could be developed was as one of the few reserves of the more valuable furs. Already hundreds of trappers are pressing north after the fox, sable, mink, ermine and other fur-bearing animals. There is not less, but more demand for them, and with the greater demand a lessening supply. Quite recently we had heard of nobody breeding foxes, except in the Aleutian Islands. We have not tried to breed foxes. But lately we began to raise them, and I sold the last of my silvers to a man from Prince Edward Island. He has written to me since, and now I am sure of offers from twenty farmers, if I may judge from the number of letters which I have had demanding answers about the raising of foxes. As if one carried foxes about with one! One would suppose everybody in Prince Edward Island had gone into fox-breeding. It may become one of the most valuable industries of Prince Edward Island.

They are beginning to learn more about the raising of fur-bearing animals in the United States. I have been over to see some of them, but I am not going to divulge any of our secrets in a public meeting. I took the trouble to go down to Cos Cobb, New York, where Dr. Seton-Thompson, or Thompson-Seton (laughter), is doing experiments with animals. He thought it well to start on unpromising animals, so he began with skunks. He said he had evolved them so far already that they are house-broken (laughter), but he is looking to the future to eliminate those white marks down the back, and may yet breed a silver skunk equal to the silver fox. I am also beginning, and he is hoping to see me down this year to report the progress of my experiments.

The buffalo is most easily destroyed. At present we have a law which conserves these animals in the most ludicrous way. Only the good men in the country don't kill buffaloes, and the bad ones do! I am in constant trouble; I am the magistrate, and sometimes men come and offer to sell me buffalo skins; but I am not a policeman, so I do not arrest them, and I know that the buffalo stand between them and hunger. Among the things we know would conserve the buffalo is the restriction of their slaughter by foxes. The best way to breed a fox is to breed him in a place like what you would keep a dog in, and to feed him on a low protein diet, so he will not be carnivorous; just as that man at Santa Rosa, Luther Burbank, does with plants.

I don't feel like going into all the things possible for the development of Labrador. I am not a geologist, but I took the trouble to get a geologist to come down, and Professor A. P. Lowe, a well-known Canadian, is a reliable witness—he made a geological survey and reports that the country's geological formation offers a field for mineral returns with similar strata to other parts of the continent, giving promise of rich mineral wealth that Labrador may hold in her womb. So that this new railway, which I hear is being discussed seriously, and which I have heard has almost received official sanction, may find a business somewhat more remunerative than that of carrying passengers to Labrador.

With regard to its scenic attractions, there is no question that its northern fjords, its beautiful flowing sea, its bracing atmosphere, and many other features make it have a claim to more respect than it has received in the past. And when the natural resources in the West have been depleted, either by over-population or by reciprocity (Laughter), the tide will come back again, and we may get further development of Labrador.



This can be said: there is a contribution to human life which every hard country has to give. No man with British blood in his veins, with the genius of the men of this great Empire which has extended and kept itself in the forefront of humanity, would like it if his forebears came from the Coral Islands, where they had nothing to do to get a living but bask in the sun and ate nothing but yams. We like the Viking blood, the resourceful strain. And yet we hear people say, "You are an illiterate people"! I venture to say you will hear infinitely less interesting and instructive conversation in many a parlor than you will in hundreds of fishermen's cabins on the Labrador coast. (Applause.)

There is a value that comes from doing things! There was a time when I thought that every missionary was a fool; and now that I have gone out into that work myself I begin to think it is true! there are so many things you find you don't know. If it is thought that Labrador owes something to me, I am sure I owe much to Labrador. I consider it is one of the greatest things that can happen to a young man or a young woman, to have the opportunity of such work as I have there.

Having made this very feeble defence of the right of Labrador to existence, and of people to live there, let me add that I believe, had our forefathers had the intuition to know the value of this part of the continent, many of the troubles in the matter of having a winter seaport might have been avoided by the securing of a port there.

With regard to the work I am doing:—I am really ashamed, it seems as if I am always going about blowing my own horn; I have spoken three times already in this city on this visit, and each time told about our work there in Labrador. The work is possible only through the devotion and loyalty and help of so many men and women. Of the doctors—there are seven on the staff—four are doing the work for no returns whatever in money, they are giving me their lives. (Applause.) Three are graduates of Cambridge, England; two are graduates of Harvard University, and both of them like other men have done their internships and held high positions, and are now doing their best work. We are a devoted body of men who discuss intellectually our attitude towards things which no man can really hope ever to have absolute knowledge about. There is, as Kant says, a "thing in itself," beyond which men differ. Some of us say our prayers in Latin, some don't want to say any, and some of us say them in English, but when it comes to a question of interpreting medicine or surgery, we want to take

out the appendix in the orthodox way without septicaemia. We can't do that in a Catholic way or a Protestant way or a Methodist way, but we do it in the way you adopt—I will say for the benefit of Dr. Primrose and others—in the University of Toronto. (Laughter.)

There are other things that come in my way to do as magistrate. As a magistrate a large part of my work is to settle the estates of the people who die, and often the only real estate they leave is in the form of children that are hungry. That is a matter that offers some difficulty, as I think the lawyers here will agree, and I am so often the residuary legatee in this way, that a couple of ladies have undertaken to run a building if I would erect it. The proposal was very satisfactory and it was accepted. We want to complete the education of our men by sending them to Polytechnics where they can take special work. We are just now wanting to complete one building, and then we shall have five hospitals, a hundred to a hundred and fifty miles apart. And we want to be correct in diagnosis, for we are looked upon as consulting physicians, and are sixty miles from St. John's because rightly or wrongly our missionary friends appreciate our work. When we wanted to give them a thing like X-rays, the first thing to arrange was how to get electricity; we have to generate it; so we had to get a good man to do it; and we must get our men educated, but we can't do that in Labrador. Through the kindness of British friends and institutions who have sent out a man here and there we have been aided in this matter; and they greatly help us in another line, these men stick to Labrador and stay there. Men who just learned late in life the rudiments of academic education compete with these college-trained men in primaries and secondaries, and come out second or third in the class, showing the capacity of the men on the coast. While many of our people are poor and ignorant, and there are many things they ought to know, yet they have many admirable traits, which justify a man spending his life among them. But I would like to see a railroad in there before I die!

Any man who says he does not believe in alcohol and in liquor, is like a man who speaks of taking people out of the country opposite ways. To the sailor and fisherman there is no question that the rocks and shoals, the fogs and storms, do not present a corresponding danger to that danger which the seaports offer. When a strange fisherman's vessel comes in with a crew aboard a man runs into the place, and provision not being made for him he must have a good time. With his strong physical nature—largely good nature—one

does not like to see him do it, but he often will seek that "good time" in an unconventional way; and there are those who seek him, the crimp the runner for the saloon, and so on. But in Labrador prohibition closes the saloons; there is not one there. There is no question but that you can maintain it. Liquor is absolutely non-essential. Both when travelling with sledges and in hard times at sea, I would always rather have a man who is not weakened by the use of any drug, prussic acid or alcohol, I don't care which it is. (Applause.)

At St. John's where all our "lame ducks" used to have to have to go for repairs, this temptation was very strong. But now our people have a dock and a steam lathe, and do all their own repairing. And I have arranged, by the way, with an English firm to establish a cash fur-buying establishment right on our coast. But as our men had to go down there we were glad to know that the saloon keeper has been closed out. When men went in there I used to ask them, "Why do you ever go in? Why don't you bring back your money? You ought to be good down there." There is a kind of religion which makes a man wax strong as a lion as long as temptation in the concrete is presented. But as the concrete temptation is there the man will say to me, "It is so lonesome being good down in St. John's!" But you can be good on the coast.

Well, you have to meet problems as they come along, and we started in with a meeting at Government House there to discuss the problem of a Seaman's House at St. John, and having no vision—which many of us didn't have—I thought we could put up a building for \$10,000. I raised the \$10,000, but found it would not buy the site! Finally we raised some \$90,000. Already I had a splendid vision of the work done by a big Young Men's Christian Association, for I had seen what that organization is doing in a good and simple brotherly way in the west, making the ideals of those growing communities better by the simple, manly, unpretending, inter-denominational character of the organization. But you could not put up a building of that kind without paying for it, and I was not willing to carry it on my shoulders, nor do I believe in putting up a big building and expecting the Lord to find the money to pay for it. So I undertook to send all that \$90,000 back to the donors if I could not raise another \$50,000 as a minimum for other buildings. That was the position it stood in a little over twelve months ago, when I came up here. The people of Toronto helped me out to the extent of \$25,000, and we were able to go on with the enterprise.



People say something is a good investment if it brings money back. But for the man who has money enough, I think the best investment is to put some of it into that which does not bring back returns in dollars.

As a big start-off for our enterprise, as it was nearly Coronation Day, we wanted to lay the foundation stone on that day. I asked the Governor to make it a Coronation celebration, and to ask the King to lay the stone. He thought it would not be right to bother the King on Coronation Day, he did not want to bother him, but we asked the King ourselves. Sir Edward Morris, the Prime Minister, who was over there at the time, saw him personally, and the King graciously consented to lay the stone for us. The Anglo-American Telegraph Company looped up with Buckingham Palace, and we had the stone hung up in such a way, with a clutch, that the telegraphic connection when made would break a single string and release the stone. There is about three hours and thirty-one minutes' difference in time between us and London, so we timed it for the King at 4 o'clock, which made it 29 minutes past 12 with us. We had all the arrangements made, got the platform built and the clutches arranged; the Bishop offered the official prayer, the others spoke, the Governor read his speech, but nobody thought that the King, three thousand miles away was really going to open the building for us; indeed, I was accused of having a man under the platform ready to cut the string at the proper moment! (Laughter.) That was in the newspapers. But just as the Governor had done speaking, in fact he had hardly done speaking, before—bang! went the gun, and the stone went down—the King was really pressing the button at the other end! (Applause.) I wrote later to Sir Francis Hopeway, telling him that the effect was great of the personal presence of royalty. He told it to the King, who laughed a great deal.

I have just received a letter from the Institute, asking help to finish the laundry. We need \$500 to finish the laundry and another \$500 to finish the dining room. We are not going to pass a collection plate here, but I would like to say that Mr. Hamilton Cassels and Mr. Strachan Johnston have been my strong helpers ever since the work began. They organized a Men's Committee; it has gone back a little this last year, but has kept up the subscriptions. Now if I have exceeded the rights of a speaker at the Canadian Club in even mentioning our wants, it is only on a par with the way we do things—if we want to get a thing, we go after it and we get there; I really had a man under that platform to cut that string! (Great laughter and long applause.)

(April 8th, 1912.)

## The Northwest Provinces and their Relation to Confederation.

BY MR. R. B. BENNETT, M.P.\*

MR. BENNETT'S address was delivered at a regular luncheon of the Club held on April 8th, 1912. Unfortunately he spoke so rapidly that the Club's stenographer was unable to secure anything like an adequate report of the speech. Repeated efforts have been made to secure from the speaker himself a complete resumé of a very eloquent deliverance. After holding back this volume for several weeks in the hope of hearing from Mr. Bennett the editor has resolved to go to press with the following fragmentary report. In part Mr. Bennett said:—

*Mr. President and Gentlemen*,—I esteem it a great privilege and pleasure to address so large an audience in a great city such as Toronto, a centre of intelligence and wealth. I sometimes think that we members of Canadian Clubs have little appreciation, perhaps, of our responsibilities. I assure you nothing but a sense of great responsibility induces me to address you upon a subject which I cannot hope to do justice to in the time allowance, for it is very difficult to press into a few minutes the history of a country so vast. Yet that duty devolves upon me this afternoon.

I will point out that the territory of which I am to speak has as old a history as can possibly be found in this country. Consider it from one standpoint: Henry Hudson penetrated the sea which bears his name in the eastern part of the continent, and an agitation arose shortly afterwards which resulted in the creation of the Hudson's Bay Company. One can readily understand that prior to 1670 the work of exploring was done largely by the noble missionaries, who went up and down the rivers, and travelled among the vast ranges of snow-capped mountains, but they were not explorers and colonizers. In 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company began to establish itself, and after that for two hundred years the history of the Northwest is practically that of the Hudson's Bay Company, broken by the story of Selkirk's colonizing of Manitoba, the career of

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the Northwest Fur Company, and the amalgamation of the two companies,—the first Canadian merger, I think.

Mr. Bennett proceeded to speak of the exploring work of the Hudson's Bay Company, which sent great parties across the continent. He named Simpson, Mackenzie, and a number of missionaries whose noble self-sacrifice added to the knowledge of the country and its development, including Grandin, Archbishop Tache, Lacombe, Bishop Bompas, Bishop Reeve, Archbishop Machray, George Young and John McDougall, whose names are intimately associated with the history of that part of the country. From 1670 to 1870 that history was practically that of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose operations extended from Fort William to the Pacific, and from the international boundary to the Arctic Circle, its bands of fur traders traversing the western part of the continent in the period before the railways were built, and doing for the British Empire much the same on this continent as the East India Company did for it in winning and holding the Indian Empire. Upon the flap of our National robe, he said, was embroidered the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. He wished some one would write the history of that country, who would bring to the task the genius of Macaulay and the patience of Green, combined with some of the qualities of Hallam, and so make an immortal name for himself, while doing a great service for his nation.

Next Mr. Bennett spoke of the mission of Sir George E. Cartier and Sir John A. Macdonald to England to perfect the Canadian title to the West. One who went with them was a man from Toronto who was for some time the correspondent of the *Toronto Globe* in the West, Mr. Charles Mair, who still lives in Western Canada. These men believed in the possibilities of the country, and they completed their contract, the title costing over £300,000. Hon. Wm Macdougall was sent out by the Federal Government to establish a stable government in the Province of Manitoba, but his mission proved a failure. Louis Riel made himself the head of a Provisional Government and set up a republic, so that for a short time a flag other than that of Great Britain flew over part of that country, the white flag of the Riel Republic.

Referring then to the achievements of Archbishop Tache and especially of Sir Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona, a man of great, broad sympathy, sterling sense, and splendid judgment, a statesman and patriot who did much more to bring peace to the country than almost any other, the speaker remarked that the example of that man, now holding such a position in the House of Lords in the mother of parliaments, was calculated to stipulate the ambition of every young man;



it had raised every man's place, and should especially commend itself to the judgment of the younger men in the Canadian Clubs.

The Wolseley expedition failed, but the Manitoba Act was passed, which made that Province become, in the words of Lord Dufferin, the first square upon the chequer board. The first Board of Health in Western Canada was formed in 1871 at Edmonton. The Royal North-West Mounted Police was formed in 1873, the splendid force, with whose history such names are associated as those of Sir George French, Imrie, Col. Herchmer, Steele and McLeod. That finest mounted force of constabulary, almost, the world has ever known, as is admitted by almost universal consent, brought across the face of the country such a change as to maintain law and order and justice over the vast region from within the Arctic Circle, where one of its forts is situated, to the boundary, where there is another, and from the snow-tipped Rockies to the plains. One thing we have to be proud of is that the members of this force come from our own land. They have made British Institutions to be regarded as synonymous with justice, fair play, equality under the law.

In 1875 the Government of the day thought it wise to establish more elaborate provisions for the administration of that part of the country, and so it passed the Northwest Territories Act. The last Council of eleven, under Gov. Morris of Manitoba for that year met on the 28th Nov., 1875. On the 7th of October, 1876, the Act came into force, Hon. David Laird being the first Governor, with a Council of five—a Parliament of five members! It met at Swan River, which was the first capital, within the Province of Manitoba; then the capital was moved to Battleford and later to Regina, formerly called Pile-of-Bones Creek, where a wild boom in town lots and subdivisions occurred. Among those prominent in affairs at that time, Mr. Bennett became Senator Forget, Mr. Hayter Reed, Judge Richardson, Hon. Frank Oliver, Senator Ross, Mr. Turriff, and Mr. F. W. G. Haultain. The first election was held in 1883. There were then one thousand people, exclusive of Indians, in a territory of one thousand square miles. Gradually the Advisory Council gave place to the Legislature, and more power was given to the representatives of the people. Then began the struggle for provincial autonomy which was kept up for many years.

Mr. Bennett went on to tell of the vast extent and the abounding prosperity of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Their area is twice that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but their population is sparse. The riches of the territory are not known to any person, and their

resources are widely varied. Though in the two Provinces there were last year only about nine hundred thousand people, their contributions to the wealth of Canada was \$200,000,000. A great volume of business is transacted by the cities of Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Regina, Moose Jaw, and Prince Albert. The customs duties at Calgary alone, last year amounted to \$2,000,000. This amazing prosperity was one part of the story; but there were always, said Mr. Bennett, difficulties and obstacles that must be overcome, for where there was prosperity there was danger; constantly he had told the people of the West that when people get wealth too soon invariably they are menaced for some time, and if a man gets rich too quickly there are certain consequences and often heartburnings.

Mr. Bennett proceeded:—Now, my friends, I must hasten on, but I would like to give you some impressions, to visualize the conditions in those Provinces. Railroads are being built with great rapidity, rarely have any people been so greatly served, with a population of less than a million in Saskatchewan, there are railroads almost everywhere being built with feverish activity, hundreds of millions of dollars having been spent during the last few years. As one sign of the enormous prosperity during the last eight or ten years I must say that of a half million homesteads granted during the past forty years, 40 per cent. of them have been issued during the last decade.

Saskatchewan last year raised ten million bushels of wheat, more than all the rest of Canada, yet we are cultivating only the fringe of the border, and in Alberta it is the same.

The destiny of Canada, in my judgment, is wrapped up in the history of the two Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. You in this part of Canada have derived benefits from our prosperity. Your money has been loaned upon our mortgages, your banks have established branches in the West, your manufacturers' products have been sold in the West. There is not a young man here but knows that the great increase in the volume of your business has been due to the splendid markets of Western Canada. This amazing and abounding prosperity has been felt everywhere. In the bank balances of Toronto and Hamilton, and in the manufacturing centres of this great Province of Ontario, and less in the Lower Provinces, but everywhere there is a reflection of it.

But you are conscious, from your reading of the newspapers, that notwithstanding this prosperity, still there are evidences of discontent. You read that there is a spirit of unrest and discontent amidst the people of the West and you ask me "Why is this?" I am asked to speak of the problems of the West, and you ask me why there is this discontent. In my

judgment, it is nothing more than just a passing symptom of the unrest that there is in every part of the civilized world. It is manifesting itself in China, where a republic has been set up; in Portugal, under a monarchical government; in England, where it is possible that a revolution may change the government; in the United States; in Mexico; everywhere. Even here I find reputable and responsible men clamoring against the Privy Council, yet that is the only link that binds us to the Mother Land, that and the appointment of the Governor-General, and you are not doing your country any good, nor the country west of the Lakes, by agitation against the Privy Council, for it is there that the victories for Provincial rights have been won.

But this spirit of unrest and discontent you find in the West is after all a symptom of what is seen in the struggle of democracy, the people asserting their authority, in some instances against entrenched wealth, a cry for real leadership, for a better understanding between the governed and the governors.

But in the West there is something else: it is always necessary to study the character of the population. I should like you for a moment with me to see the class and kind of people we are bringing into the Canadian West. There is a great agitation to people the West. Perhaps few of you realize that in the Province of Alberta during the last six years 74 per cent. of the people who came in were from the United States, and in the Province of Saskatchewan 70 per cent. were from the United States. Alberta during the same time received 9 per cent. only from Continental Europe, and 12 per cent. in Saskatchewan came from this source. Our British population was 18 per cent. in Saskatchewan and 17 per cent. in Alberta. My friends, that vast proportion of our population that came from the United States came largely from the States known as "insurgent" States—Minnesota, the Dakotas, Iowa—these men are the very pick of the American people. They are dissatisfied with conditions in their own country, because they believe, and some, I understand, properly, that the money trust is throttling their very life. They come into Western Canada with a strong disposition to criticize what is done in Eastern America, with prejudices against the institutions of Wall Street, and what is known as "the Interests." When some journalists commenced to carry on a campaign against the "Interests" in Canada, the American settler was led to believe that Canada too is in the grip and power of the Trusts. Hence his feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction. I appeal to journalists to see what can be done to bring about a sterling Canadianism, rather than array the East against the West.



They have grievances in the West, alleged or real. Part of them are with reference to conditions of transportation. We have limited markets. And to some extent we say our taxation is unfair. That involves consideration of matters that would take too long, but let me point out that you must do your very best to aid these Provinces. To-day we have only one funnel for this great bin of ours. I am not speaking of British Columbia. You business men of this city have agreed to be responsible for the way we were dealt with five or six years ago. You were going to give us a line of railway. I think it will be five years at least before the bridge is completed at Quebec and meantime the rails on the Transcontinental in the Eastern Provinces are rusting. Sometimes men, to promote party cries, carry them too far. There should be such a thing as a business administration of transportation. So long as we have only one funnel, you are making a reflection upon yourselves. We had a few routes at our disposal, but you had many. We have lately completed a line from Cochrane to the West, so that our grain may be carried to the sea-board. But if it is carried to an American port the farmer of the West will say, "If you are going to divert my grain to Boston or Portland, why not let me divert it myself here at Calgary and send it to St. Paul or Minneapolis? I want you to answer that; why should I carry it to Cochrane?" Then there is the question of building the Hudson's Bay Railway, and the question of extending our canal system. The men of Ontario have shown a loyal desire to aid in the matters. We have committed ourselves to the extent of \$100,000,000 to the providing of better transportation facilities, largely for the people of the West, I admit, but when the Panama Canal is completed, you want to look to your guns as that it will be of the best possible advantage to the West. If the manufactured products of England can be carried to Vancouver by water route they can easily be placed upon the markets of the West cheaper than you can send them there, unless by keeping down fixed charges, by seeing that the stock is not watered and by the reduction of rates to the lowest absolute figure possible.

On the question of markets I want speak, but that involves the question of reciprocity and you don't want that. I'd like to say something, but a man's usefulness when speaking upon national questions is sometimes destroyed by extreme partyism. I have not said anything in a party sense, but some things I want to touch upon in a broader sense. You cannot hope for the development of new markets in a country that exports more than it produces—to the same value that it produces.

We have the old-fashioned notion that a man's taxation should depend upon his ability to pay the tax. Some of our

farmers say, and properly, that the burden of taxation imposed upon them under the present tariff, is not only greater than their ability to pay, but that it creates conditions under which they cannot continue to live in any comfort. We who live in the West are many of us tremendously interested in the demand for a Commission for the purpose of investigating these matters, so as to build up a scientific tariff. No people are more willing to pay their part towards the development of Canadian resources than are the people of the west. We quite realize that it is impossible to do without revenue, we must have revenue which involves taxation, but there should be a tariff based upon the scientific principle that the price should have some relation to the requirements of the situation. We had hope but "hope deferred maketh the heart sick"—that we would have a proper Commission to build up a scientific tariff, but alas! it is not to be, others have willed that it is not to be, those in the Red Chamber have ruled it otherwise.

I referred to the population from Continental Europe. Do you realize the rotten naturalization laws that we have? Just before an election both parties start out a Commission, a Justice of the Peace, who goes to the Italians and the Austrians and men from other countries of Europe, and puts the vote in his hands. For possession of this the chap says "Me got vote?" At the head of the Great Lakes are twenty-five hundred men, who never heard a word of our history, yet have the franchise. It is said that in Winnipeg there are thousands like that, in Calgary there are twenty-five hundred. You down here in Canadian Club can only undertake this work. Are you going to permit the destiny of Canada to be determined by men who have no love for our traditions, who know not of them, and have none of our reflected aspirations? Or will you create a public opinion by which the people shall become British citizens? We have an Imperial citizenship, that is an accomplished fact; the Government at Westminster will view the conditions of these people, and after five years in Canada a man will be able to get a certificate from the Secretary of State, valid wherever he may go. But it is of the first importance to see to it that the man who exercises the franchise, and holds the balance of power between both parties, is to some degree educated as a Canadian, and not to have conditions so that a public issue may be determined by five hundred Italians or two hundred Austrians or one hundred Galicians. When a man comes and wants to be enrolled as a voter, let the Judge look upon him and let him sign his name at least as a permanent register or record of who he is. The Canadian Clubs can help in this matter of improving our naturalization laws. Let us act so that we shall have done something to advance the interests of our country and to solve its problem.

You men with money, come out and establish some industries in the West. Wealth is a great trust, a responsibility. Do not be so wrapped up in your own business as to forget the larger claims upon you, but do something for your country. Then I say to the journalists, establish a common bond between all the parts of Canada, and thus exercise an influence for good, more than you sometimes exercise. Thousands of men in the West, yes, hundreds of thousands, never saw Montreal, or Toronto, or St. John, or Halifax; they know Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Spokane, but not the cities of Eastern Canada. Let us develop these men's Canadianism, by having them come here and see your factories. You journalists here, we need your influence—for in shaping and moulding the institutions of our country no power is comparable to yours; the influence of a public man sinks into insignificance beside that of the press. So when I see newspapers threatening to boycott Eastern manufacturers, and raising a row, when I see a great newspaper in Western Canada talking about the "Interests" controlling the Government, making the American settler believe that they are throttling him and loading him with an intolerable burden, I say they are making a grave mistake. May I direct your attention to this matter earnestly; I am preaching no insular doctrine, no sectional policy, but rather a broad, grand, splendid Canadianism; so that the young men may grow up to be proud of Canada, and of the Empire of which it forms a part.

I have said something of what your Canadian Clubs should do, and have pointed out how the journalists might exercise a broader sympathy; there is one thing more: it concerns the educationists of Canada. The men who come to us from the Western States do not know our history—there never was a successful battle in 1812, on our side, so far as they have learned! Let us have one history for every Province in the Dominion, and one geography, if possible, stir up public opinion in regard to this matter. I would like every school boy in the West to read "Deeds that Won the Empire," and "Fights for the Flag." (Applause.) These new boys coming to the Western plains—if we are to make these into men and citizens—we must offer to them something that appeals to the imagination, and such an appeal I have been trying to make, in a way which I trust will not be ineffective.

Let us hasten the day when these great nations, members of the British Empire, shall be welded into one splendid, harmonious whole, into a vaster Empire than the world has ever yet seen, and show these people who have come here a greater land than they came from, with greater justice, freedom, and



equality under the law, where every one may worship his own God under his own vine and fig tree. But if these boys are to be seized with a sense of responsibility to contribute to the defence of the nation on sea and land they must understand that when they see our sea-borne commerce it is a burden borne by the British taxpayer who is burdened till he can bear no more. Think of this great North American continent, what a crying shame that we in Canada are not seized with a proper sense of our responsibility and have not done our duty by the Empire!

Of vital importance is the matter of uniformity of the commercial law of the Dominion. We have the same bills of exchange; let us have the same code of commercial law from ocean to ocean—this will do much to solidify and consolidate the Provinces commercially.

I cannot tell you what class of men are going to grow upon these prairies, no man has yet seen the boys grow up there, but I can say that these two Provinces will have men who, born within sight of the snow-capped mountains, cannot be anything less than freedom-loving, liberty-loving men; living where the plains meet the horizon they cannot but be men of broad sympathies and ideas and of profound convictions.

This thought of how environment can influence men, is one of the hobbies upon which I have bestowed some attention. Let me quote some lines of Matthew Arnold's upon this fact of environment:

A wanderer is man from his birth,  
He is born in a ship on the breast of the River of Time.  
Brimming with wonder and joy, he spreads out his arms to the light,  
Rivets his gaze on the banks of the stream.  
As what he sees is, so have his thoughts been,  
Whether he wakes where the snowy mountains pass,  
Echoing the screams of the eagles, hems in its gorge  
The bed of the newborn, clear-flowing stream.  
Whether he first sees light where the river in gleaming rings  
Sluggishly winds through the plain;  
Whether in sound of the swallowing sea,  
As is the world on the banks, so is the mind of the man;  
Only the thoughts raised by the objects he passes, are his.

Now, my friends, if that be so, think of our responsibility to the generation now growing up, who one day must control the destinies of these two great Provinces, in whose hands, I believe, the destiny of this Dominion of Canada rests; and if the destiny of the Dominion rests with them, then surely the destiny of this great Empire too rests with the men and women that are to be in these great Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. And I can only hope, as I know you hope and believe, and believe with profound conviction, that what these boys and girls see as they pass along the banks of this River of Time will influence them to desire to build there (the

thought was in the mind of that great Chieftain, Sir John A. Macdonald, when he conceived the notion of adding these territories to this Confederation), the finest type of foundation for British dominion upon this continent, and to cultivate the spirit of loyalty to the Crown, and the feeling of oneness with the Mother Land.

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April 15th, 1912.

## New Brunswick and its Relation to Federation.

By MR. O. S. CROCKET, K.C., M.P.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club on the 15th April, Mr. Crocket said:

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,*—I know of nothing which so completely harmonizes with the aims and objects of the Canadian Clubs of this country as this series of addresses which your executive has arranged on the history and resources of the different Provinces of the Dominion. For the fostering of a broad and healthy Canadian national spirit there is surely nothing so essential as the diffusion among our people of knowledge of the history and development of the different Provinces composing the nation and the interesting of these Provinces in each other; and I apprehend that in the history of the little province by the sea, concerning which I come to speak to you to-day, will be found no small or unimportant contribution to that splendid fabric, which has been reared on this continent, of a strong, united Canadian nation within the British Empire, year by year adding to its strength and greatness in a manner unrivalled by any country of the world.

I need hardly say that I appreciate the honor of having been selected to deliver the address for New Brunswick under such distinguished auspices as those of the Canadian Club of this great and cultured city of Toronto, and I am sure that the people of that Province will also appreciate the opportune privilege which you have thus accorded of making known to you, and perhaps through you to others, something of what we have to offer at this time of her awakening to a fresh realization of the tremendous possibilities which she possesses for future growth and development.

If there is one feature more than another which has distinguished the history of New Brunswick through all the years from her foundation as a Province in 1784 until the present time it has been the constant and unswerving devotion

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of her people to the British Crown. Born as she was of the spirit of that very devotion—a spirit which flinched not before the grim necessity of choosing between the foreswearing of allegiance to the Empire and the abandonment of comfortable homes and all material possessions to endure the trials and hardships of pioneering in an uninhabited wilderness—this same spirit has never failed to animate her in the succeeding years. The famous snowshoe march of the 104th New Brunswick Regiment to Quebec through the blinding storms and withering cold of the winter of 1813 to join in the resistance of the threatened American invasion, the march of the 43rd Regiment to help quell the rebellion in Quebec in 1837, the extraordinary expedition with which hundreds of her young men gathered at the front at the time of the Fenian Raid, the eagerness of her sons to volunteer for service in the Riel Rebellion, her proud record in the South African War, and the wild abandon which has characterized so many of her demonstrations over the success of British arms attest the strength and fervor of her patriotism and of the attachment which binds her to the land from which her fathers sprang.

What of the early history of this Province, so intensely British, before her foundation as a Province in 1784? It is inscribed for the most part in the varying fortunes and vicissitudes of Acadia, of which the territory comprised within her present boundaries formed a part. From the time Jacques Cartier in his first exploration of the Gulf of St. Lawrence camped on the north shore of the Province near the entrance to Miramichi Bay in 1534, and a few days later discovered and named the beautiful Bay Chaleur until De Monts and Champlain in 1604 explored the Bay of Fundy, discovered the River St. John and founded the first Acadian settlement on a small Island near the mouth of the River St. Croix, no known European had set foot on the soil of New Brunswick. A few bands of Indians, the *Milicetes* in the St. John River District, and the *Micmacs* on the north shore, held full and undisputed sway. The little Acadian colony having been transferred in 1605 from the St. Croix to the Annapolis, where Port Royal was founded as the headquarters of the French, the struggle to found a new France in the Atlantic Provinces was stubbornly maintained for a century and a half amidst many difficulties. The French occupation of the country was first challenged by Sir Thomas Dale, Governor of the English colony of Virginia, who in 1613 sent Capt. Samuel Argall to destroy Port Royal, which at that time contained practically the whole settlement of Acadia, numbering a little more than a score. Argall quickly executed this commission, and thereby

signalized the commencement of hostilities between the English and French in America. For 19 years the country remained in the nominal possession of the English until it was restored to France by the Treaty of St. Germain in 1632. In the meantime in 1621 King James I. of England had granted all the territory of Acadia under the name of Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander, afterwards the Earl of Stirling. Sir William resolved to make the country a new Scotland in fact as well as in name. He founded an order of Scottish baronets to which he made over 100 appointments, each carrying with it a grant of 18 square miles of land. That portion of his domain which forms the present Province of New Brunswick he called Alexandria, while to the St. John and the St. Croix rivers he gave the respective names of the Clyde and the Tweed. Thirty-two of the baronies which he granted were on the St. John River. This Scottish nobleman's attempt at colonization, however, resulted only in the planting of a small Scottish colony near Port Royal in 1628, the settling of a few additional scattered colonists in 1630 and the retention of the name of Nova Scotia.

From 1632 till 1654 while Acadia was again under French control her history for the most part consists of the struggle for supremacy between the two rivals Charles de la Tour and the Chavalier D'Aunay. The heroic defence of Fort La Tour on the west side of St. John Harbor by Madame La Tour against D'Aunay's attack during her husband's absence in Massachusetts, its capture by means of the treachery of a Swiss guard, and of the offer of generous terms of surrender which D'Aunay immediately and brutally violated by compelling its brave defender with a rope around her neck to witness the execution of all her devoted followers save one, her death from a broken heart a few weeks later while a prisoner at Port Royal, the marriage of her bereaved husband to the widow of his relentless foe after the latter's drowning five years later, and the restoration by the Government of France of La Tour with D'Aunay's widow as his wife to the command of the colony, constitute one of the most strangely impressive stories that history records.

With the surrender of Fort La Tour in 1654 to Major Robert Sedgewick, who came from Massachusetts with four ships of war which Oliver Cromwell had despatched from England to attack the Dutch colony at Manhattan, Acadia a second time became a British possession and remained so for 13 years when she was again ceded to France by the Treaty of Breda. During this interval Cromwell made a grant of the whole of Acadia to Sir Thomas Temple, William Crowne and

La Tour as copartners, La Tour having become a British subject. Temple bought out his copartners, and in 1659 established the first English trading post on the St. John River at the mouth of the Jemseg. He held on to this Fort for three years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Breda, when he was commanded by Charles II. to surrender it to the Sieur de Soulanges, the Lieutenant of the French Governor of Acadia. The whole population of Acadia at this time numbered but 400, only a score or two of whom were inhabitants of New Brunswick. The French now retained control until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, by which Acadia was finally ceded to England. During this latter period the Government of the country was largely directed from Quebec. Seigniorial tenure was established in Acadia, 18 seigniories having been granted on the St. John River before the close of the century. Jemseg became for a short time the capital of Acadia and later on from 1692 to 1696 Nashwaak Point opposite the city of Fredericton had this distinction, then it was transferred to St. John and finally at the close of the century back to Port Royal. The French allied themselves with the Indians in attacks upon the English Settlements of Maine and Massachusetts for some years after 1686. These and counter attacks by the New Englanders upon the Acadian Forts largely constitute the record of events from that time until the final cession of Acadia to England by the Treaty of Utrecht. When this Treaty was concluded practically all the settlers in New Brunswick were of French origin. These contended that the Treaty covered only the peninsula of Nova Scotia and shared with their fellow Acadians of that peninsula the hope to see the country again restored to France. They built Fort Beausejour as late as 1750, the most formidable fortress built during their occupation of Acadia, and held it strongly garrisoned until it was attacked in 1755 by a force of 2,000 men and 36 vessels despatched by Governor Shirley of New England under command of Col. Monckton and surrendered. The tragic expulsion of the Acadians from the peninsula of Nova Scotia followed soon afterwards. Many of them came to the river St. John, only to be driven out two or three years later by another expedition which General Monckton brought from Massachusetts. The majority of these escaped to the head waters of the river where their descendants now form the large majority of the population of the County of Madawaska. Others of the unfortunate exiles settled on the marshes of Westmoreland and on the north shore where their descendants number considerably more than one-half of the present population of the counties of Restigouche, Gloucester, Northumber-



land, Kent and Westmoreland. Between the expulsion of the Acadians and the close of the American Revolutionary War several settlements were established in New Brunswick by English colonists from Massachusetts and other Provinces of New England. The most important of these was that which was planted in 1763 at Maudersville, which was really the first permanent settlement on the River St. John. Many of these sided with the revolted American colonies and actually took up arms in their support.

Such had been the meagre development of New Brunswick as part of Acadia or Nova Scotia that at the close of the year 1782—178 years after the coming of De Monts and Champlain—the total population of the Province was estimated to be less than 2,000. Then in 1783 came the United Empire Loyalists, and with their coming began the real progress and development of New Brunswick; 12,000 came to New Brunswick during that year, founding the city of St. John and the towns of St. Andrew's and St. Stephen, and a number of settlements in Westmoreland, Kings, Queens and Sunbury counties. The newcomers included many men and women who had occupied prominent places in the life of the New England colonies. There were among them graduates of Harvard and Yale, eminent lawyers and physicians, and indeed some of the brightest minds of the population of New England, all animated alike by the same patriotic determination which had cast homes and properties to the winds, to stand at all cost by the flag of their motherland. Such were the pioneers of New Brunswick. A year after their coming Nova Scotia was divided, that portion of it lying north of the Missaquash River being erected into the present Province of New Brunswick. Col. Thomas Carleton was its first Governor. He appointed an Executive Council and authorized the election of a house of assembly in 1785. A Supreme Court was established, which had as its first Chief Justice Duncan Ludlow, who had been a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Province of New York. Among the puisne Judges of the Court was James Putman of the Massachusetts bar, who is described as the ablest lawyer of the time in America, and in whose office John Adams, second President of the United States, studied law. Fredericton was made the capital of the Province in 1785. By 1788 the banks of the St. John River to the distance of 70 miles above Fredericton had been settled by Loyalists. Settlements went on very slowly on the north shore where the first arrivals were from the British Isles, chiefly from Scotland. The Acadians extended their settlements in Westmoreland and along the north shore. One of

the first things to which the new settlers turned their attention was the establishment of schools. As early as 1786 an Academy was founded at Fredericton which later became the University of New Brunswick. Commerce and industry began in earnest. Saw mills were erected along the rivers and shipbuilding was begun at St. John and Oromocto, which developed to such an extent that New Brunswick became and continued for many years to be one of the foremost shipbuilding countries of the world. In 1816 thousands of immigrants came to New Brunswick from Scotland and Ireland, and energetically united with the Loyalists in pushing forward the development of the Province.

The contest for responsible government in New Brunswick went on simultaneously with the same struggle in the other Provinces. The first step in this reform, the control of the casual and territorial revenues by the Legislative Assembly, was secured in 1837 under the leadership of Lemuel Allan Wilmot, but for some years afterwards many office-holders, dependent on the good-will of the Governor and the members of the executive council, continued to sit in the Legislature, with the result that as late as 1847 a reform resolution moved by Charles Fisher, a colleague of Mr. Wilmot from the county of York, was defeated by a vote of 23 to 12. It was not till 1848, after the home government had yielded to the demands of Nova Scotia, that the principles of responsible government were fully affirmed in New Brunswick by resolution of the Legislature and secured to the people in their entirety.

Problems of railway construction occupied the attention of the Legislature and of the people for many years. Eleven years after Stephenson operated the first steam railway locomotive in England, in 1836, the Legislature incorporated the St. Andrews & Quebec Railway Company to build a line of railway from St. Andrews to Quebec. This pretentious undertaking, however, resulted only in the completion of about 80 miles from St. Andrews to Richmond in 1863, the Quebec extension having been abandoned in consequence of the Ashburton Treaty ceding to the United States that portion of Maine through which it was to pass. The first railway in operation in New Brunswick was that from St. John to Shediac, which was opened by the Prince of Wales, the late King Edward VII., in 1860. A number of important lines of railway were built in different parts of the Province before Confederation. In 1861 our population had grown to over 252,000.

Then came the proposal for Maritime union. While the delegates from the three Provinces were in conference at Charlottetown in 1864 the Upper and Lower Canada delega-

tions intervened with the proposition for the larger union and obtained an agreement for the famous Quebec conference at which the Confederation compact was drafted. The scheme was submitted to the people by the Government of Hon., afterwards Sir Leonard Tilley, in the following year, when it was overwhelmingly defeated, 35 anti-confederates having been returned to a House of 41 members. The cry of its opponents that it would place the control of the trade and commerce of the Province, and many of her important interests in the hands of a Parliament in which our representatives would be so largely outnumbered by those of the larger Provinces, caught the popular mind, but a year later, when an unexpected dissolution of the Legislature afforded another opportunity of testing public opinion upon the question, the advocates of Confederation drove home the consolidation argument from the Imperial standpoint with such effect that the verdict of the previous year was completely reversed, and New Brunswick entered the union with the undoubted consent of her electorate to merge her future in that of Canada.

During the first 14 years of Confederation she maintained a steady growth, but during the past three decades the Province has not made that progress which her record of 50 years before seemed to promise, and has not shared as fully as she should have shared during this latter period in the general development of Canada.

When it is remembered that when the United Empire Loyalists landed upon her shores her population did not number 2,000, that 41 years later it had grown to over 74,000, that 16 years afterwards—in 1840—it had more than doubled, that by 1851 it had gone up to nearly 194,000, in '61 to nearly 253,000, in '71 to over 285,000, and in '81 to over 321,000, it is not at all encouraging to observe that in the past 30 years, from 1881 to 1911, her increase has been but a fraction over 30,000, and that the latest census places her percentage of increase at 6.27 as against 15.58 for Ontario, 21.46 for Quebec, 78.52 for Manitoba, and 110.86 for British Columbia.

Disappointing, however, as is this story of population figures, and strange as it may seem, her industrial progress during the past 10 years has been quite marked, the capital employed in the manufacturing establishments of the Province having increased from \$20,741,000 in 1901 to \$35,402,000 in 1911, and the value of her manufactured products from \$20,922,000 in 1901 to \$34,439,000 in 1911, and I come here to-day to tell you that at the present time a spirit of hopefulness and optimism pervades the people of New Brunswick



such as has not been evidenced in any previous period of her history.

The lure of the West with its much advertised wheat fields and rapid increase of land values has made heavy drafts upon our population, particularly among the young men of the farms during the last 15 years, but now that the Prairie Provinces are filling up with British and American immigration, the reflex influence of which has begun to affect the land values of the east our people have awakened to a realization of the advantages and opportunities which lie at their own doors.

In agriculture alone the Province presents immense possibilities for development. The quantity of land under cultivation at present is about 1,400,000 acres, out of 13½ million acres capable of being brought under the plough. That such a small percentage of her arable land has been worked in all these years is due in a large measure to the fact that the fishing and lumber industries of the Province have diverted the attention of so many of her people. With respect to the land now under cultivation I have the statement of no less an authority than Mr. Grisdale, Director of the Experimental Farms of Canada, that they are the equal of, if they do not surpass, in natural fertility and crop-producing possibilities the lands of any other of our eastern Provinces, including Ontario and Quebec. Her marsh, dyke and interval lands are unsurpassed for hay production. In the growth of wheat and coarse grains her average yields are quite equal to the average yields in any other Province in Canada and superior to most of them, while for potatoes and root crops generally she stands without a peer, both as regards the quality of the product and yield per acre as well as regards the low cost of production per acre or per bushel. For dairying, beef production and sheep raising the Province is also peculiarly adapted. Orchardng is coming rapidly to the fore, New Brunswick apples within the last few years taking their place among the best apples grown in Canada. The exhibit of New Brunswick apples at the recent Dominion Fruit Growers' Convention at Ottawa was unexcelled for quality, size and color. Prof. W. T. Macoun, Dominion Horticulturist, has declared that New Brunswick has a climate to raise the best quality of apples, and that he knows of no part of Canada that can grow the McIntosh Red better than that Province. It is not surprising, therefore, that New Brunswick has been pronounced by the foremost agricultural experts of Great Britain and Canada to be one of the best mixed farming areas in the world.

Next to agriculture the lumber industry is the most important in the Province. The census of last year showed that over 10,000 persons were engaged in the manufacture of lumber and log products in 367 establishments; the output of which amounted in value to \$12,610,396. The capital employed in this industry, including lands, buildings, and plant and working capital, amounted to \$14,083,383. The wages paid in the year 1910 amounted to \$3,476,303, which is more than double the amount of wages paid in this industry in New Brunswick in 1901. There is ample field in New Brunswick for the profitable employment of large capital in the manufacture of wood products of various kinds, and in the development of the pulp and paper business. The Province still retains 7,000,000 acres of ungranted Crown Lands or in the neighborhood of one-quarter of the entire area of the Province. This does not represent in any way the forest area of New Brunswick, as much of the Crown Lands sold to private persons are still reserved for timber limits by their owners.

New Brunswick, in common with the other Maritime Provinces, shares the distinction of being in close proximity to what are the most prolific fishing grounds in the world. Its geographical position and the configuration of its seaboard make it in some respects the most favorably situated of any of the Atlantic Provinces. On the one hand the north shore is washed by that most excellent of fishing waters, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, while on the other hand the counties of Albert, St. John and Charlotte are washed by the prolific waters of the Bay of Fundy, in which fishing can be carried on practically the whole year round. Its numerous sheltered bays and large inlets,—veritable breeding places,—into many of which flow great rivers, full of anadromous fish life, contain abundant supplies of the finest food for the attraction and sustenance of the most valuable varieties of our commercial salt water fishes, and provide incomparable facilities for the formation of fishing settlements and for the carrying on of fishing operations with the least possible expense, risk and exposure. From whatever point of view the fisheries of this Province are regarded, either as a distinct industry or combined with agriculture, they present themselves as a splendid heritage, and form one of its finest natural resources. Notwithstanding the very creditable position already attained by the fisheries of New Brunswick it cannot be said that more than the fringe of their latent industrial possibilities has as yet been touched. During the year 1910 there were 16,158 fishermen operating on board a fleet of 376 vessels and 3,099

boats in New Brunswick waters. The total value of all kinds of fish produced in that year amounted to \$4,124,144. These included Herring, Cod, Sardines, Salmon, Lobsters, Haddock, Hake, Mackerel, Smelts, Shad, Clams and Oysters. This Province possesses the only Sardine fishery in Canada, which is carried on in the waters of Passamaquoddy Bay and the waters around the Islands of Grand Manan and Campobello, and the West Isles in the Bay of Fundy. Our Cod, Hake and Pollock are mostly dried and sent to the West Indies and South America, while Haddock are sent in a fresh state and as Finnan Haddies to all the inland towns of Canada. Large quantities of our Cod are sold also in Italy. Much of the Herring is smoked for export to the West Indies. There are 185 lobster canneries on the north shore. Natural oyster beds, bearing a fine quality of oysters, exist along practically the whole north shore of the Province. New Brunswick has by far the best salmon fishery in Eastern Canada. Its many fine salmon rivers are the means of annually drawing large numbers of sportsmen to the Province.

In manufacturing the figures already quoted show that a very substantial progress has been made during the past 10 years. The lumber manufactures of course top the list in value of products. Foundry products run to \$2,685,094, cotton to \$2,673,226, while the products of fish curing and fish preserving establishments run to \$1,500,000, and the products of biscuit and confectionary factories and flour and grist mills to over \$1,000,000 each. There are in all 1,094 manufacturing establishments in the Province, a number of which have within the past few years found profitable markets for large quantities of their output in every Province of the Dominion to the farthest limits of Western Canada. Thus at last has the far-seeing wisdom of New Brunswick's confederation and national policy champions been fully vindicated and the misgivings (which many of our people entertained for many years) that we could not fairly share in their benefits and advantages, been finally dispelled.

Mineral development which previously had been inconsiderable has been entered upon during the past few years to such an extent and with such promise that it is rapidly taking its place among the leading industries of the Province. Extensive bituminous coal fields exist in Queens and Sunbury Counties, which until the past few years had been mined only to a limited extent by the private owners of the lands on which they are situated. A few years ago the central railway was extended from Chipman to these mines with the result that in 1910 over 46,000 tons were mined and now this railway is



being extended from Minto to Fredericton by the Fredericton and Grand Lake Coal Co. The charter has been acquired by Sir Thomas Tait, and his associates, under an agreement with the C.P.R. to take over the railway upon its completion and operate it as part of the C.P.R. system, while Sir Thomas Tait and his associates will undertake the development of the mining areas upon a large scale. The effect of such an operation of these mines upon the industrial life of the Province can scarcely be foretold.

New Brunswick has also valuable gypsum deposits in Albert Co. and at Plaster Rock on the Tobique. The Albert Manufacturing Co. of Hillsboro quarries nearly 100,000 tons of crude gypsum a year, the greater part of which is shipped abroad in lump form, but a considerable portion of the product is reduced at Hillsboro and shipped as plaster to Canadian and United States points and even to Australia.

A few years ago iron ore deposits were discovered in Gloucester County, which have been found to be the largest iron deposits in Canada. The property comprising 30 square miles of territory has been acquired by the Drummond Mines, Ltd., of Montreal, and is now being actively developed. The Northern New Brunswick & Seaboard Railway has been built into these mines and extensive docks have been constructed at Newcastle for the shipment of the ore. Over \$1,000,000 has already been expended in connection with the development of these recently discovered mines. The ore averages about 50 per cent. of metallic iron, and it is estimated that by hard picking or rough lump sorting one-half of these large ore bodies can be made to average 57 to 58 per cent. The development of these mines, even if it does not lead to the establishment of a smelting industry, and is confined simply to the mining and shipment of ore, will afford millions of dollars worth of labor in the coming years.

The most important discovery of recent years however, having regard to the future development of the Province, has been the natural gas and oil wells, and the shale deposits in Albert and Westmoreland Counties. The Maritime Oil Fields, Limited, of London and Glasgow are now developing the gas and oil properties. They have already discovered in Albert County, and have now shut in over 50,000,000 feet of natural gas in 14 wells and are pumping from five prospect wells 300 barrels of petroleum a month. These wells have a depth of from 1,400 to 2,400 feet. The Company claims the largest individual gas well in Canada, running over 12 million feet of gas in 24 hours with a rock pressure of 550 lbs. to the square inch. The quality of gas has been determined by Dr.

Donald of McGill and other scientists of the United States to be practically the purest and the highest in calorific value of any gas produced on the continent of America. This field has now sufficient development to be capable of supplying a quantity of light and power equal to the present total consumption of the entire Province. The Company has already laid 12 miles of 10 inch pipe to the city of Moncton and are distributing natural gas in that city at 38c. a thousand for domestic use, 25c. a thousand for gas engines and 15c. for boilers.

Important, however, as are these natural gas and oil wells, they do not compare, either in their intrinsic value or in their potential effect upon the future general development of the Province with the oil shales of the same counties. These shales are undoubtedly the most valuable mineral asset which New Brunswick possesses and the greatest thing in sight in that portion of the country. The late Dr. R. W. Ells, of the Canadian Department of Mines, after a special study of these shales and those of Scotland, France and Belgium, declared to Colonel Loggie, Deputy Head of our Provincial Crown Lands Department, that everything else in New Brunswick paled into insignificance before the stupendous possibilities of these wonderful mines. The Scotch shales average less than 30 gallons of oil and 27 pounds of sulphate of ammonia to the ton. The New Brunswick shales run from 45 to 60 gallons of oil and 70 pounds of sulphate of ammonia to the ton. When it is stated that the stock of the great Pumphreston Shale Company of Scotland of the par value of £1 per share is selling at £13 a share some idea may be had of the value of these New Brunswick deposits. Sir William Mackenzie of your city has just purchased the lease and rights of the Albertite, Oilite and Cannel Coal Co. covering 190 square miles, mostly comprised in Albert and Westmoreland Counties, and proposes to enter at once upon the active development of these tremendous properties. He has stated to the New Brunswick Government that he will erect within two years a plant which will cost \$1,500,000 for extracting the oil and ammonia from the shale, a plant which will be capable of treating 450,000 tons of shale a year, and will employ many hundreds of hands. In close proximity to these shale deposits lie extensive reefs of calcic sulphate, testing 98 per cent. of lime, and also gypsum deposits. An experiment has already been made in the manufacture of Portland cement from the by-products of the shale, limestone and gypsum, which Professor Meade of Pennsylvania after an examination made in behalf of the Canadian Government, has pronounced to be superior to anything yet known for quality and cheapness of production. Other by-products will give us

fertilizer factories of enormous capacity whose products will in turn greatly augment the productivity of an already fertile soil. The possibilities of these shales are simply incalculable.

Then we have our water powers which still await proper development, including Grand Falls on the St. John River, second only in volume in Canada to Niagara, and capable of developing from 22,000 h.p. in the low water months of February and August to 300,000 h.p. in springtide, and of maintaining with the construction of storage and conservation dams, which can be effected at a very moderate cost, a constant flow of 60,000 h.p. throughout the year. The situation of this great water power in such close proximity to the best and most extensive lumber areas of the St. John River affords an almost unrivalled chance for a great pulp and paper industry. A strong company has already been formed to undertake the development of this power with Sir William Van Horne at its head.

With the development of these iron mines, the natural gas and oil wells, these vast shale deposits and coal fields, and of these water powers, now being actively entered upon by such men as Sir William Van Horne, Sir William Mackenzie, Sir Thomas Tait and the Drummonds, of Montreal, have come provincial and federal government contracts for two of the greatest public works ever undertaken in the Province, the St. John Valley Railway and the St. John Harbor Improvements, two contracts which call for an expenditure of over \$20,000,000 in the next four years. The St. John Valley Railway will traverse the whole of the fertile valley of that river from Grand Falls to the city of Saint John, a distance of about 220 miles. Tapping at the former point the National Transcontinental Railway (the New Brunswick section of which runs diagonally through the yet mostly unsettled central portion of the Province from its northwestern to its southeastern corner, a distance of 261 miles, and will be ready for operation during the present year), the St. John Valley Railway will complete a system of railway communication aggregating over 2,000 miles, which cannot be excelled, while the St. John harbor works will double the capacity of that already great seaport, lying at our very doors, within a day's rail haul of the most remote settlement of the Province, and provide it with one of the world's great dry docks.

To these material resources and advantages add an ideal system of common, high school and university education, with her commercial colleges and consolidated schools for manual training and natural science study, her numerous and well organized churches, and her exceptional opportunities for



hunting, fishing, boating, skating, curling and other healthful recreation, all contributing to a social life of the most attractive kind, and we surely have a country which cannot fail to flourish, and in time to take her place among the most thriving Provinces of Canada. Be assured of this: the days of stagnation or retrogression in New Brunswick are past. She is on the eve of the greatest development of her history. Watch her and I am no prophet if you do not find that her record of the next ten years marks one of the most conspicuous features of the growth of Canada.

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(April 22nd, 1912.)

## Ontario.

By MR. E. F. B. JOHNSTON, K.C.\*

AT a regular meeting of the Canadian Club held on the 22nd April, Mr. E. F. B. Johnston said:

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,*—I feel comparatively safe when I find to the left of me the worthy President of this Club, and I feel still safer when I find on the other hand, one degree removed, the cautious and strong-minded Canadian citizen, Sir Mortimer Clark. I am quite sure that between these two gentlemen I shall not go very far astray in what I may say to you to-day.

It has given me a great deal of concern to know what to say to an intelligent audience like this, and properly so, because, I daresay the majority of you know Ontario and its history as well as I do and perhaps better. The subject is too large to deal with in the limited time at my disposal. I shall, therefore, content myself with dealing with the matter in as original a manner as I possibly can, not giving you a First of July oration, such as you hear all over this country from the town halls to the school houses, but pointing out some of the very significant factors from the standpoint of one who is not a historian, and, I am glad to say, not a politician. (Laughter.)

Now, Mr. President, what of the past? No historic or political record is due from me to you; but looking at Ontario as a distinct entity, part of the scheme of Confederation, what of the past? The history of Ontario is really the history of Canada. For the past two or three hundred years and up to the present time, Ontario has been foremost in the development of the resources of Canada. She has been always in the van in struggles for political liberty, for freedom and pure thought. Ontario has given to the world a system of education perhaps unequalled, certainly not excelled, in any other country on the face of the globe. In manufactures, she has gone the whole gamut, from the old wooden harrow to the complex steam engine, and now produces everything you can possibly think of or imagine. Not only so, but by her agricul-

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\*Mr. E. F. B. Johnston, K.C., required no introduction to the Canadian Club. A leader, if not the leader of the Ontario bar, he is also an earnest patron of the fine arts, and an assiduous collector of high class oil paintings and water colors.

tural industry and her inventions, she has arrived at perhaps the highest stage of present development. And Ontario, as I will perhaps show you, briefly of course, has, by the struggles of her sons in the past, given to this country and to the world a form of government which combines the best features of the highest type of monarchy with the best elements of republicanism. She has been pre-eminent in enterprise. I ask, therefore, to-day, what is the outstanding feature of Ontario not only in the past, but which I hope she will preserve in the future? I say, it is her intense vitality.

We must go back a little from the subject, because, if I began where I should like, it would be at the other end. Therefore, I must trouble you with one or two phases of the early history of Ontario. And if I can give rise to a new line of thought, it will be by enabling you to see commonplace things in an unusual way,—an interesting study for such institutions as the Canadian Club.

With reference to the early history of Ontario, perhaps the most interesting chapters we read of regarding any country in the world are those containing the story of this Province, and of the Dominion, for the story of Ontario is the story of the Dominion. It is a romance, the story of a dream and the result of the romance of dreamers. Four centuries ago, the vision of adventurous men was directed like that of a certain great ruler towards more worlds to conquer. Men were looking for a North-west passage. England had not given much encouragement. France was backward in giving aid. Italy to a large extent controlled the Oriental trade at that particular time. Spain had considerable commerce when Columbus set sail for the New World. Soon after him, John Cabot sailed from Bristol, later Jacques Cartier from St. Malo, and Champlain under the patronage of the Governor of Dieppe. These men all dreamt a dream, that if they would go west they would reach the shores of India and China. They thought there was an open passage; and when they sailed into the St. Lawrence they were confident that they had found it: hence we find the record in the name "Lachine"—the China. That dream possessed these men for years and years. It was the subject of a great deal of enterprise and adventure, to find a direct passage to the Orient. That dream came true! And so far as Canada is concerned, this was made possible through the efforts of one of the ablest sons of Ontario, Sir John A. Macdonald. Hong Kong and Liverpool have been linked together, and England has direct through connection with the Orient by the Canadian Pacific Railway, four hundred years after those visionaries dreamed their dream.



Another fact I state without comment. In those days, a small body of Jesuits came to this country, looking to a great domain, hoping to establish their Church and the dignitaries of the church in a new hemisphere. Through all sorts of trouble, and all kinds of privation, they saw a vision of a great Church and a great Order in this country. And their dream has come true.

But more than that, after all this had taken place, the English began to dream with regard to the Western country known as America. They saw the advantages of opening up trade and commerce with that country. The English dreamers looked to a period when the British flag would extend its sovereignty over the whole or the greater part of North America. They looked for greater power. Wolfe and Montcalm, representing two great nations, met on the Plains of Abraham, and the dreams of the English statesmen came true in 1760, and Great Britain obtained one-half of this continent as her own.

About that time certain factors were at work. The War of 1775 had a tremendous influence upon the destinies of the Province of Upper Canada, now Ontario. You may ask what it was. The War of 1775 gave birth to the United Empire Loyalists. They came with English thought, traditions and ideals; the men who settled here were loyal to the Crown of England, and they bound the colony to the Mother Land by greater ties than had ever bound it before. Their descendants to-day are loyal, and I have no doubt that the spirit that actuated them actuates the Canadian Clubs to-day, and also that vast Order of loyal women, The Daughters of the Empire, which is doing so much to strengthen the bonds of British unity. Their motives had the underlying element of imperialism. I don't mean for one moment the mere seekers after royal favor or after power,—what I mean by the word "imperialism" is the feeling of the memories and traditions of Great Britain that actuated in this country the man from behind the plough and the lad from behind the counter to risk his life for the flag. I say that same spirit has carried itself through the bulk of our population from the time of the Revolution of 1775 down to the present time.

Now in 1791 Upper Canada had 20,000 people, and Lower Canada 125,000; but it was even then that Upper Canada began to shape the destinies of this new country. The old government under the Constitutional Act was a very curious one. Seven members composed the Legislative Council, appointed by the Crown, and an Assembly of sixteen was elected by the people. Think of that: the government of this great

area was in the hands of about the same number of men as you send to the City Council of Toronto! No sooner had matters been placed upon what is called a constitutional basis than the fight for Responsible Government began,—in other words, it was determined that the government should be in the hands of the people and for the people, and not controlled by mere nominees of the Crown. Ontario was the aggressor in this movement; Upper Canada began at that time fighting for the people's rights. She fought that battle because of the conviction that the cause was just, and she has kept at it from that day to the present time.

Upper Canada therefore began to be a very important factor in the development of Canada. In 1702 John Graves Simcoe, the first Governor of Upper Canada, met with his Council at Niagara. Governor Simcoe was one of the first great dreamers of a great nation on this continent; and we do not know, and perhaps never will fully know, the debt this Province and the country owe to Governor Simcoe.

As I have said, Governor Simcoe was also a dreamer. What was his dream? To open up and develop this Province of Upper Canada by great national roads or highways. He started Dundas Street, Yonge Street, and the Governor's Road leading west towards Woodstock, and London, all these great national highways, or "good roads" as they would be called nowadays. That movement, started in 1792, has slept—not perhaps the sleep of the righteous, but certainly that of the sluggard, and it is only after a hundred years that Governor Simcoe's ideas are being taken up, and we find our Governments now directing themselves to the realizing of the great dream of that outstanding movement of a hundred years ago. Toronto was very small at that time: I suppose she could not muster then one-tenth of the number we see here in this room, even in self-defence; but there was a little tent in the little town of York, and on that tent flew the red flag of Great Britain, and in that tent was Governor Simcoe; and from that day forward this flag has been prominent, and it has been again proved true that trade and loyalty have ever followed that flag.

In the War of 1812, Upper Canada was the battle ground. I wish to point out the very significant fact, that in the War of 1812 the military and loyal spirit of Upper Canada was largely created. Our politicians on both sides of the House to-day, and the people throughout the country, are divided as to whether we should have a navy or a standing army or both, as a protection against the country to the south, which country I hope will always remain in the same peaceable relations with

us as it stands in to-day. (Applause.) We forget that a mere handful of men, with the same extent of borders, the Canadians of 1812, showed that they could and did defend their borders, while we are sitting and discussing the question academically. You remember how the United States charged that England had tempted the New England States to break their fidelity to the Union, and there were threats to annex Canada. I need not do more than mention Gen. Brock, the battle of Queenston Heights, the battle of Chippewa—in which twenty-five hundred were opposed by six hundred Canadians,—the battle of Stony Creek; I need only mention to you Laura Secord, the woman who, her husband lying wounded, found her way through the woods for twenty miles, taking the message her husband was unable to carry to Lieut. Fitzgibbons at Beaver Dam. The lesson I want to commend to your minds is,—that of such stuff are our Canadian women made. (Applause.) Then came the close of the war. Canada was victorious, but the lesson far beyond the mere physical or military victory, is that it made Canada become self-reliant. She became convinced that she could defend her own borders. And she has continued as a nation of self-reliant ideas, holding her head independently and boldly from a military and defensive standpoint, just as if she were free of obligations to England or to any other country.

Then we have the political struggle in Upper Canada, or what is now Ontario. To Upper Canada we must attribute the result of the struggle against the Family Compact, who were indulging in every kind of arrogance. But there were representative tribunes of the people who were fighting for the rights of the people, and their right to govern. The Union scheme was formulated in 1822. English was to be the only language, and the French language was to be dropped in Parliament in fifteen years. And let me say here—and I want to keep away entirely from the danger of this question—no man can possibly overestimate the importance of the English language as the language of communication, and let me tell you this, that in the country or countries where you find the English language used, you will find it followed up by the introduction of English thought, English ideas, English dress, and English customs, with the well-known Englishman's ideas of liberty. (Applause.) You go to a place like Holland, where they teach English in many schools for one hour per week,—why? because they feel that in order to take their stand in the world they must be Anglo-Saxons in language at least, in order to carry on their business and trade. We have worthy citizens in Canada,—I don't care whether they are Germans,



Russians or of other nationalities, men who are fine settlers, and likely to make their way in the world, but they lack the traditions of the Empire. What is it to the Pole, or the Hungarian, or the Russian, what Trafalgar or Waterloo means to the Briton? What interest has the foreigner in those who were the great warlike spirits in the history of our Motherland? The conquests are to him only dry historic facts, that do not carry to his mind any of the spirit or traditions which they do to the descendants of the English people. Therefore we cannot overestimate the importance of the English element, and the Anglo-Saxon tongue,—with of course a little Scotch and Irish thrown in—(Laughter)—in a country such as this.

We had the Family Compact to deal with. Robert Gourley came here about 1817. He sent out questions to the various municipalities as to the cause of their troubles and the remedies they would suggest. He called meetings, and for the first time perhaps in the history of the evolution of civilization, conventions or meetings to discuss public matters were made illegal by the law of this country. He was driven out of Canada charged with sedition. We look back to him as one of the pioneers in our struggles for liberty. Men like Bishop Strachan and John Beverley Robinson, prominent and well-known, were unfortunately against the popular side, conscientiously no doubt, but supporting the cause of tyranny and a wrong principle of Government. Gourley dreamt of a free and enlightened people with responsible Government, and Time has justified his vision.

Then there was William Lyon Mackenzie, of whom personally I am not going to say one word, one way or the other; but let us remember that his rebellion was not against the Crown, but against the mal-administration of political affairs in this country. It is needless for me to go over his record, because however we may differ as to the methods he adopted, men of his energy and type led directly to the Responsible Government which we enjoy to-day. It is rather a sad spectacle, and one which we would wish to forget, that muster of a thousand untrained, undisciplined men on Yonge Street, armed more for the harvest than for battle, with their scythes and pitchforks, but routed almost at a moment's notice, and the cause they worked for apparently lost forever. But they were willing to risk their lives for a sentiment, for the principle of Responsible Government: and the result, as you know, was that their object was accomplished eventually by peaceful means instead of through the medium of force. Strange that those who struggled most against the rights of the people

wrought out the salvation of the cause by reason of their own actions and tyrannical conduct. The champions of the people suffered as rebels, but by their actions they gained freedom and relief against an oligarchy, and their struggle resulted in the final triumph of the people. It is strange too that the Family Compact was composed of men who were loyal to British institutions, yet fought against the people's rights and self-government. They began in the cause of freedom. They became tyrannical. Finally they were the direct cause of their own political destruction.

Then I come to another dream. Perhaps one of the most remarkable conditions in the history of the Province existed when the question of the government of the two Provinces was being discussed. There appeared upon the scene a man known to history as a great statesman, Lord Durham. Away back in 1838, when this was a sparsely settled Province, and Upper Canada had not its proper share in the government, he prepared a report in which he dreamt of the most wonderful things. He begins by advising a Legislative Union, and says that the Executive should be responsible to the House of Assembly, as it is at present; and that there should be municipal institutions having control over their own local affairs; and he advises an Intercolonial Railway for the binding together of the Provinces, in fact as well as in name. He was a dreamer in 1838. Well, that dream was partly realized in the new constitution given in 1840 by the Act of Union, by which there was a Council of twenty appointed by the Crown, with an Assembly of eighty-four members, and municipal control was established in the municipalities over their own local affairs. And the next National step, the great Act of Confederation, was the full realization of that dream, which in accord with the Report of Lord Durham in 1838, but preceding it by twenty years, Chief Justice Sewell in 1816 had advocated. His remedy was the government and management of the colonies of England through a similar plan of union. This is what led up to the consideration of the scheme vitalized by the Confederation Act. It is well known to all of you that the discussion and public feeling began over the disparity of representation of the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Upper Canada in 1855 had 250,000 more people than Lower Canada, and there was consequently an unfair representation, because the Assembly contained eighty-four members equally divided between the two Provinces. There was a great battle fought, within the memory of some of us, and the result was the great Federal Union of 1867, dealing largely with the question of the right to manage our local affairs—with the rights of

the representatives of the people of each Province to determine what was in the interest of the Provinces and with the right to a system of representation based on population. Another great object was that of binding together the Provinces into one united, harmonious whole. This was the realization of the dream of that old dreamer, Chief Justice Sewell, years before. What part did Ontario take in this great movement? From 1867 to the present time, Ontario has been the aggressor, the fighting power, the one element that has struggled more than any other Province for the realization of fuller Provincial rights under the Confederation Act. And for thirty years Sir Oliver Mowat fought the battle largely single-handed. In all the Provincial struggles and in all the victories you will find seventy-five per cent. due to the energy, the forethought and the far-seeing qualities of the small man who controlled the destinies of Ontario for so many years in Queen's Park, Toronto.

Now, gentlemen, what of the present? At the present moment Ontario is prospering and progressing a great deal faster than we think she is. Our eyes are blinded somewhat by the glamor of the great Northwest. When Canada is spoken of, we think of the millions of acres awaiting settlement, of the tremendous flood of immigration, of the great wheat crop, and the productive richness of the Western Provinces. We forget Ontario. From statistics which I happened to look at the other day, relating to 1910, the total market-value of the wheat crop of the Northwest was something like \$110,000,000; and we forget the fact that for that year, in the crop of hay alone, Ontario's marketable production was \$55,000,000! Surely we do not need to look to the West to see the prosperity and progress of this country with such a showing as that!

Then we have railways making Canada the seventh in the world as to mileage, and in Ontario, perhaps the largest mileage per capita of any country in the world. Ontario is a country of power—I don't mean the power of the great, or the power of money, but the power that moves the world, the power of science, of manufacture, of production, the great electric power schemes which we have, and the great electric-producing power capacity, which Ontario, perhaps beyond any other country, has within her own borders. And we are changing the character of this power, so that one has but to look, and he will see that all this tremendous force is something entirely different to what it was ten or twelve years ago. It behooves us to see what we are going to do with our contracts and franchises based upon electric energy. A few years ago,



power had to be carried along the lines of railway, and a steam engine had to be moved from one farmer's place to another to do his threshing. Now, power is no longer a fixed article, but a commodity than can be transmitted and dealt with as something separate and detached. And the time is not far distant when the farmer will order one, two or three horsepower delivered to him just the same as we order our milk, eggs, or groceries and have them delivered at our homes. That may be a dream, but things are tending that way. Power has become, instead of a fixed principle, a merchantable commodity, the same as wheat or anything else. And we have to watch so as not to tie Ontario up for the future by any franchises or arrangements which may become absolutely obsolete or productive of great mischief to our country in ten or fifteen years hereafter.

In manufacturing and commercial activity, Ontario is at the front. I need not say we have within a stone's throw of this place two of the highest commercial buildings within the British Empire, and we have in this city perhaps the second largest manufacturing establishment within the whole scope of British domains. You have at the present time the development of new areas of pulpwood, and minerals. You are supplying the world's markets. And in addition to that, you are devoting your time and money on a vast scale to the development of the educational facilities of the country, and, I am glad to say, of the higher life of the people.

This is your present. What of the future? We have discovered a clay belt, which is said to be tremendously productive. You will find that Toronto and Montreal will have to look to their laurels, because there may be a second Toronto north of the Height of Land, and this within a comparatively short period, if we are informed correctly as to the capabilities of our northland territory. Is that dream too rosy to indulge in? I think not. We may fairly look forward to such development and change of character and such a growth of industries, as would have seemed absolutely chimerical half a century ago.

We are in the midst of great undertakings. We are enlarging our canals and extending our railway systems. But we are using up our capital instead of living on the interest. We are taking the national resources of our Province, and living on them extravagantly and luxuriously, not investigating which of them might be conserved in some way, or protected, so that when the lean years come and our natural resources are all gone, we may have something left to fall back on in the rainy days. Another thing,—we have not thought much (ex-

cept in an isolated sort of way now and then) about what my friend to my left, Mr. C. C. James, the late Deputy Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, has called to our attention,—we have not thought out the best crop for particular soils whereby the maximum production at the minimum cost and minimum degree of exhaustion of soil can be obtained. A few years ago people would have laughed at you if you had suggested the production of tobacco in Ontario; now tons of it are grown in Essex and adjoining districts. So in small fruits—except around Grimsby and perhaps at Burlington, it was thought these could not be grown; to-day the whole lake shore is devoted to them, some places being far better than those I referred to, and yet generally unsuitable for wheat and similar products. You get the largest amount of result from the smallest amount of investment by having products and soil in harmony. And then you begin to realize that the great natural wealth and resources of production within this Province can be vastly developed, and made infinitely more fruitful.

What of the future? What of the future in regard to our own lives and the life of the nation? Shall we be content to rest as we are; to hear occasionally talks of graft, and of improper conduct, and of dishonest lives? Or shall we look forward to accomplishing a higher life for individuals as well as for the nation? These are matters for the future. I think I have the right to say, we can make this Province the veritable home of content, we can make her the haven of peace, and by our efforts and by looking towards the higher ideals, we can make her the sanctuary of the righteous both in word and in deed.

Now, gentlemen, I have taken up your time quite long enough. I have gone very briefly through some of the salient points of Ontario's history. A few words in conclusion: I thank you for the very kind attention you have given to what I have said as the result of my thoughts upon the Province of Ontario, the subject chosen for me. We have a justifiable pride in our Province. From what I have said, no member of our community could fail to feel a certain pride and a certain outstanding admiration present to his mind in looking back over the records of Ontario and contemplating her present and future conditions. She is above all other Provinces the keystone of that great arch of Confederation, which rests one arm in the fogs of the Atlantic, and the other upon the shores of the blue Pacific. We have faith in her integrity as a Province: we have unbounded confidence in her future. And in these things you agree with me, I know.

I, too, dream!—not of annexation (Applause), not of independence (Hear, hear)—but of a Greater Britain, encircling the globe with her fleets of commerce. And I see Ontario in future years taking a leading part in the councils of the world. I can see her the home of peace, progress and plenty. And it is no stretch of imagination for us to say, as we look down the avenue of Time, we can see the great fabric of Imperial Federation, with our own Province always in the forefront of all that makes for national greatness, and all that tends towards the higher and cleaner life of a great country. You and I can help in making this dream come true! (Applause.)

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